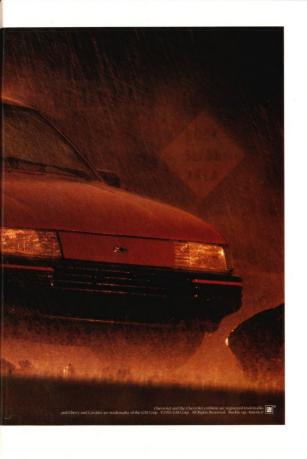


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Every 10 seconds, someone moves to Window

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Windows builds squarely on the software and experience people already have by working seamlessly with MS-DOS, the operating system of choice for 90 percent of personal computers worldwide.

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Standards like the MS-DOS operating system make this revolution possible. Today more than 20,000 software packages run on compatible machines from over 200 personal computer makers. Standards move computing ahead. And Windows is a commitment to standards, to evolution, and to a future you can count on.

Windows is working worldwide.

In little more than a year, Windows 30 has already been selected by over semillion people in 194 countries Over the next 12 months, another eight million are projected to make the move to Windows. And because Windows is an open system, a skyrocketing list of hardware and software from all leading developers offers users remarkable innovation, function, and valunction, and valunction and valunction and valunction.

Today Windows powerfully expands what you can do with a computer. It helps people get to the power of their applications by making them far simpler to use. It lets applications automatically share and undate information. It opens the way for voice, graphic, and video information. And that's just the start.

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ways work oue simple way.

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the way you see, use, and understand
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help put vast global information resources at virtually anyone's fingertips.

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Which returns us to the simple philosophy that helped create the Windows system in the first place. What makes a computer truly powerful isn't the technology that goes into it. It's the results people get out of it.

For a better look at Windows and the future, get Personal Computing: The Second Decade Begins, a free brochure, by calling (800) 992-3675, Dept. W66.



THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

COVER STORIES

36 EXCERPT: Ollie North's Version

The central Iran-contra figure says in a new book he is convinced: "Reagan knew everything."

24 NATION:

Confirmation Backlash

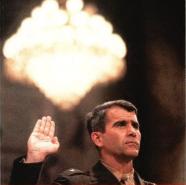
After the Thomas vote, women's groups vow political revenge, but they face big obstacles

78 BUSINESS:

An Oddity in the Oil Patch

Does shaky Harken Oil benefit from its Bush connection?









COVER Photograph for TIME by Gregory Heisler

FROM THE PUBLISHER

ormal people, beginning their careers, often plan toward what they hope to be doing in 20 years. But journalists aren't that normal-and besides, how could Barrett Seaman have known in October 1971 that he would spend his 20th anniversary with our company in rural Wise County, Va., watching Oliver North, the ramrod Marine who mesmerized America during the 1987 Iran-contra hearings, campaign for Republican candidates? But for Barry, who excerpted North's autobiography, Under Fire, for this week's issue, getting a close-up look at the author in action was critical to understanding his enduring appeal. "We've all forgotten Olliemania,"

he says. "Liberals dismiss North as part of the problem with government. But conservatives go nuts when he shows up. They see him

as someone who is like them, another victim of government." Seaman brings unusual qualifications to his latest assignment. As senior White House correspondent during most of Ronald Reagan's second term, he covered the Iran-contra affair, speaking often with North's colleagues in the West Wine and on the

Seaman, center, with Oliver North in Wise County, Va.

"Conservatives go nuts when he shows up. They see him as someone who is like them, another victim of government."

National Security Council. He never succeeded in cornering the elusive lieutenant colonel himself, although he did once glimpse the infamous paper shredder. Firsthand knowledge of the players

did not prevent Seaman from being surprised by some of the replations in *Under Fire*, however, Seaman from the seaman from the seaman which the late cr. a director William Casey "ran" North, schooling his eager protège in the basic of off-the-books operations. Another cyc-opener. North's willingness to admit mistakes, including his role in the arms for-hostages deal

Reducing North's opus took work, but Barry has practice. In 1988 he whittled down For the Record, the memoir of former White House chief of staff Donald Regan, last year he excepted Reagn's autobiography. "Barry did such a masterly job on those that there was no question who should handle North's book." says executive editor Ronald Kriss, who overtive editor Ronald Kriss, who over-

lived P. Valle

es Taylor's

saw this project, having cut down a number of works himself. Indeed, so apparent is Seaman's editing talent that in June he was made a senior editor, a much more logical event to have put on his agenda 20 years ago.

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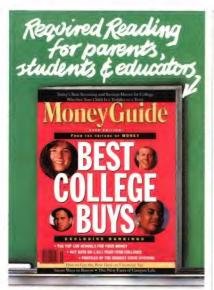
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LETTERS

DEFUSING THE NUCLEAR THREAT

"Wouldn't it be wiser to keep the old weapons and not develop new ones?"

> Ngo Minh Kham Richmond, Australia



In announcing his stunning proposals to reduce nuclear arms [NA1108, Oct. 7]. President Bush enjoys the same advantage Richard Nison did in making his overtuct to China in the early 1970s; a reputation as a conservative. A more fiberal politician could never have made a recommendation like this without being labeled immediately assolid oncommunism.

Peter E. Bird Chapel Hill, N.C.

The President's idea may be good gamesmaship, but this is not a sport. What is needed is an arms-reduction plan that offers party as well as substantive, meaningful cuts in the L.S. and Soviet are-senals Bash's televised address to the maton promised neither, because lits, plan to profine the Soviet Christis's expense. We know it and the Newton of the Christis are present of the profit of the Christian are the Profess Guidan.

leric Galacar Essex, Mass.

In reaction to Bush's proposals to drastically cut nuclear arms. I can toresee the leftists saying the cuts don't go far enough soon enough, the rightists saying they are

LETTERS

going too far too soon, and the realists viewing this initiative as at least a step in the proper direction.

Jeremy Morrow Wahiawa, Hawaii

Columbus: Hero or Villain?

It never ceases to amaze me that people are shocked and dismayed when they discover that a hero is not as perfect as they thought. It is sad we cannot celebrate our triumphs for fear of being politically incorrect. In the case of the Columbus quincentennial, no amount of Columbus bashing or ancestor worship will mend historical wounds [HISTORY, Oct. 7], If the indigenous peoples had not been "doomed by European arrogance, brutality and infectious disease," we might be living in an earthly paradise and cutting out the hearts of our youths atop stone pyramids. Historical fact should be sought so that we may arrive at a balanced view and learn from our mistakes. Nothing can come from wallowing in pity and degrading human triumph. Kathryn Westburg Hanover Park, Ill.

Columbus was certainly not responsible for much that is attributed to him. The indigenous peoples he found in the Western hemisphere were well practiced in the arts of warfare, empire building, slavery, genocide and human sacrifice. The arrogance and brutality of the Europeans who followed stemmed from their superior mastery of the same skills.

Greg Forney Boothwyn, Pa.

To dismiss the accomplishments of Columbus and other explorers is to dismiss the boldness and imagination with which they undertook their dangerous adventures. Society should be less concerned with rewriting history and more concerned with what is going on today.

Thomas G. Miraglia Castro Valley, Calif.

Rake, Iowa

We have a bumper sticker on our car: COLUMBUS HAD A NORWEGIAN MAP. Lois Halvorson

You, cited the destruction of indigerjounces New Mord cultures without signifying ing its ideological justification: Christianity's inherent commitment to europic inty's inherent commitment to europic inty's inherent commitment in the inty's inherent commitment in the intherent columbus himself used the signiture "Christoferents," or begare of Kir-This Christian intrusion produced one of the most horrhile events in human horthe most horrhile events in human horter in the control of the columbus conterior in the columbus conterior in the columbus conterior in the columbus columbus columbus columbus columbus.

Forrest G. Wood Bakerstield, Calif. I am of mixed European and Native American ancestry and was raised to see the pros, and coms of both euflures. It pains me that people are taking sides on whether Columbus was a villain or a hero. Carli thosh views of the man be correct—Hat Coboth views of the man be correct—Hat to the method of the control of the recognizing shat good and had among people go shand in hand.

Robert Emile Meine Fort Bragg, N.C.

Coping with Incest

My healing started a year and a hall gage Im 25 now. Since reading your article on incest [HeALTH, Oet. 7]. These finally found the strength to talk alous what happened. Barbaran Dolan's personal story of her experiences helped me see that we though terrible and disgusting sexual arterible and disgusting sexual arterible and disgusting sexual arterible and disgusting sexual matterible and disgusting sexual matterible and disgusting the sexual arterible and disgusting person. My family shall doesn't know about this, but I plan to confront them seen. Healing is difficult and happen just to me and that the only along the plan of the sexual purpose and the sexual threshold in the sexual properties to talk about it.

When Withheld not Request

Seattle

With the publication of my sister Barbara Dolan's article "My Own Story," our mother has essentially been tried and convicted of actions she thought were those of a loving, carefully protective mother. Fifty years after the fact, my sister has blindsided the reputation of our 83-year-old mother, who had no intent to harm. My sister did not have the courage to discuss this matter face-to-face with our mother. choosing a cowardly solution, the pen, so she would not have to view the destruction of a life. Where is the justice in this? What about my sister's responsibility for her own life? How did TIME magazine stoop to this level of sensationalism'.

Mari Ann Lendabarker Overland Park, Kans.

Your story and Dolan's personal account of the pain and shame that can result when a child is sexually violated were effective because they combined the fasts with the accompanying emotion. I believe all the somen wis hose publishy told their stories, and I am thankful they have done so. The people who recover from incest will be redefining how we look at sex, relationships, marriage and purenting.

Marena L. McPherson Chicago

Incest is increasingly discussed but is still too secret a topic. We support the courage of all the men and women who are sharing their experiences of childhood sexual abuse. Within a trusting and





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LETTERS

H. Ina Anisfeld Rory M. McDonald, Co-Directors Center for Adults Sexually Abused as Children New York City

Raffi Changes Tunes

Folksinger Raffi's decision not towrite children's songs any longer's unfortunate [PROFILE Oct. 2]. The concessof millions of children could ring out with his message of environmental slatm. Not only would his music shape the minds of youngsters but they in turn could pressure parents to make environmentally sound choices. Millions of young listeners are more receptive to his message than adults appear to be. Raffi's current method of saving the environment is influencing no one.

Bobbi and William Eric Strong Pincher Creek, Canada Contrary to John Moody's portrayal of Radh as "framtie and indiscriminate." I find him refreshingly honest and sane. While he is apparently working through some struggles of his own, the concerns to which he leads his talents all seem to be woren into a common fabric ending the abuse of the environment, of women, of Native Americans and of animals.

Scot DeGraf

Testing for AIDS

The personal tragedy of Kimberly Bergals is fell acuted in hundreds of thurbases and the state of the state o

Dale Perkins Washington

I was shocked and angered by your use of the term "innocent victim" in a caption referring to Bergalis. Such language per-

petuates the misconception that some people with AIDS are guilty because of the way in which they were infected. All those with AIDS are innocent.

> Fimothy Sweeney, Lxecutive Director Gay Men's Health Crisis, Inc. New York City

Critics of mandatory AIDs testing for all health-care providers anger me. Do we value the security of our money more than the security of our lives?

Barbara Babcock Weston Columbia, S.C.

Starting Early

I find it appalling that a developmental psychologist is preparing tages to educate babies still in the womb. This need to get ahead and outdoothers a arrend that should be resisted [BeHAVOR, Sept. 30]. Unborn babies should not be subjected to any transing, anymore than preschoolers should. They should be left to grow up naturally.

Professor Emeritus of Psychology Lakehead University Fluoder Bay, Canada

If a baby in the womb must undergo incessant early learning, how can it indicate displeasure? Nearly a decade ago, when

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LETTERS

my first child was several months old. I purchased and began to use a teach-yourbaby-to-read kit. After less than a week of 10-sec. flash-card tessons, when my son saw me coming with the cards, he would clamp his eyesshut tight and vigorously shake his head no until I put them waw, I learned my lesson well from that experience and have not mushed my children since.

Kay Virginia Webster Seal Beach, Calif.

Clarification

In the story "Dan Ouayle's Legal Career" [Law, Aug. 26], we said the Vaice "Fresident won admission to the night program at Indiana University has school "through family connections." The law-school program out of the connections of the control of the program at the control of the program at the control of the program; the carolinesis were based on a categories of the program; there is no direct evidence that could be confident of the program; there is no direct evidence that Ouayle benefited from special treatment.

Smelling Like a . . .

As a U.S. Postal Service letter carrier. I thank you for your warning about all the new fragrance samples soon to be upon us

Someone Who Really Likes to Stay in Touch



praise for Russian President Boris Yettsin was published last month in the mail column [Sept. 23], Finbarr Slattery of Killarney, Ireland, wrote us once

After his letter of

again to asy," il got nearly as big a thrill from seeing my 20th letter in TIME as I did from the publication of my first one ore 38 years ago." Slattery originally appeared in the magazine in 1953, when he wrote declaring that our selection of Queen Elizabeth II for Woman of the Year or 1952 was "proposterous." All 66, Slattery has relired from his job as an agricultural adviser but is still occupied with reading—and writing to our wanted to be a superior of the country of which is a superior of the superior of which is a superior of the superior of the published in TiME. Do 1?" The answer is see, by a long shot. [Bussisss, Sept. 30]. It's bad enough when wanners' magazines' include perfuned strips, but it's a dreaded day when the department stores send out their months billings with scented inserts. A closed-up mail visible filled with these samples on a hot day, can be overpowering, especially to someone who has allergies. After a long day of delivering mail. I come mell'file experience pertrain, and my wife swenders why—amil our mail or mail or the long of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the long of the company of the long of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the company of the company of the company of the long of the company of the long of the company of the long of the company o

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INTERVIEW

The Man Who Fired a Dog To Save a Buck

Tired of cramped seats in planes? Angry at rising fares? American Airlines chairman ROBERT CRANDALL argues that you are still better off in the deregulated skies.

By JANICE CASTRO and RICHARD WOODBURY

Q. A lot of people feel that the big carriers have got to be reined in, that we need more public control over air service in this country. A. Senators and Congressmen who want to

A. Senators and Congressmen who want to tell the airlines what to do are not sticking up for consumers. It's consumers who pay when we are forced to operate in inefficient ways.

Suppose they said, "We don't want you guys to lose our bags anymore. And every

passengers by producing less competition, higher fares and fewer choices.

higher fares and fewer choices.

A. It would be hard to be more wrong, Studies by the Brookings Institution show that during the first 10 years of deregula-

Q. Well, of course fares were lower during the '80s. But that was during the shake-out, during the bloodlest fare wars in airline history. That wasn't a normal period.

tion, passengers saved \$1 billion

A. What is? The problem isn't deregulation: it was regulation. For 40 years, the



time you lose a bag we're going to fine you a million dollars. Well I can in that to-morrow morning! We will nerve lose another bag, But in will be very inconvenient to travel. Today you come into Dallas-Fort Worth from all those different places, and an 55 minutes you make your connection and you go out. But in the words of the fate and you go out. But in the words of the fate to keep you there for three hours, because I'm going to make sure I get every bag.

Q. In 1978 Washington began to deregulate the airlines with the goals of increasing competition and improving service. Yet critics say deregulation has backfired, that it has enriched the biggest airlines but has hurt

government regulated the airlines, and did a perfectly awful job of it.

Q. That's not how consumers remember it.

A. That's because regulation distorted reality. When the government was running things, regulators designed any kind of routes and service they wanted, with no regard whatsoever for matching consumer desires or providing something that people were willing to pay for.

Q. Still, one result is that air travel is less convenient. Left to their own devices, airlines have eliminated many direct flights and have forced passengers into the Cuisinart machine of a system that forces people to fly to hubs like Chicago or Atlanta in order to catch planes to their real destination.

A. Let me soksou this Do you have a given every store right near to your house? Well, with a new Young the solid property of the regulate greety stores, you might be able for your Or you will be a new to see solid property of the solid property store on every holes. But how many gracery stores can one neighborhood sport? That's what airline regulation did. The government required us to put in sail finds of server that consumers didn't need. And we've been trying to sort? tout helps to hold down prices.

Q. Then why are average fares higher at the

An Because the best flights are available there. Norstop flights cost more, and a tot of people choose them. It you are in Dal-las-Fort Worth and you want to go to La foundata, you can life you have been a proper of the people of the people

Q. You have defended the fact that the seats are so much closer together . . .

A. Because that's what the public wants.

Q. Cramps?

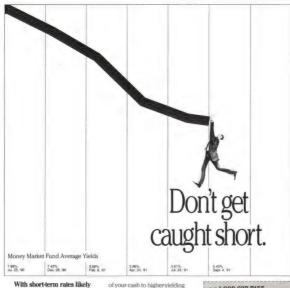
A. We can only provide the service that the public is willing to buy. The public selects airlines on the basis of three factors, price, price and price. So It is imperative that we do all we can to offer the maximum possible service for the lowest reasonable price, Deregulation works. There are more flights, and there is more competition than there was in 1978.

Q. And yet after 10 years, American, United and Delta control almost 60% of all U.S. ale traffic, and will soon control about a fourth of all world traffic. The big carriers keep getting bigger, and most of the small ones are going out of business.

A. Look around the world: almost every other country has one airline. Why? Bacause airlines are enormously expensive to operate. They are not a business that can be practiced in just one place. We have to buy a lot of airplanes, and move them across a vast network to carry people from many places by way of interchange points to other place.

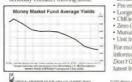
Q. What about concerns that the financial stress of deregulation has hurt safety?

A. Anyone who says that is wrong. The FAA is responsible for safety. Safety was not deregulated. The safety record of the



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INTERVIEW

airline industry is materially and dramatically better than it was during regulation.

Q. Now that American is so big, now that you've won the game, you're insisting that fares must rise.

A. Well, of course they've got to. The airline business is losing billions of dollars. Last year was the worst this industry has ever had. Right now, almost 30% of our airline service in this country is being provided by carriers that are bankrupt or nearly so. Now how can you possibly say the fares are too high? They must go up, or we're not going to have an airline industry at all.

Q. But air traffic has fallen this year. If your fares go too high, don't you drive away consumers?

A. No question about it. More than half of airline travel in this country is for leisure. As airline prices rise, people who would like to travel are going to stay home. They're going to buy more lawn mowers, more tickets to the local ball game, and fewer airline tickets. But we cannot continue to produce and sell a product for less than its full cost.

Q. Why is it so difficult to bring your costs in line with your revenues?

A. Running an airline is not like making dog food. In the dog-food business, if you get a recession, you just close a couple of plants and make less dog food for a while. Nobody cares where you make it. They buy it in all the same places.

But it doesn't work that way in the airline business. You cannot inventory a backlog and slow down production for a while. We make our product every day. If you reduce capacity, your costs rise

Let me give you an example: let's say an airline has three flights a day out of a city, which is our average. Say you have a flight at 8 a.m., another at noon and one at 5 p.m. Let's say I eliminate the flight at noon to cut costs. Now, none of that business is going to fly on my 8 a.m. flight or my 5 p.m. flight. It all goes on my competitor's flight at 12 o'clock. So the result of reducing capacity is to increase my unit costs.

Q. Why do you oppose cities spending so much to expand their airports? Isn't that good for your business?

A. Because airports cost a lot of money. do. When a city decides to build or expand an airport, they sell bonds, and the bonds are guaranteed by the airlines on the basis of long-term leases.

Capacity draws business, but only if you add it in the right places, where people want to go. Many cities seem to think that it you build an airport big enough to be a hub, it will become a hub. It's like they are building the Field of Dreams.

Q. "If we build it, they will come."

A. But we won't! Not if it doesn't make

Q. Where is that happening?

A. Denver. A lot of money is being poured into building a great big new airport way out in the boonies, and they're going to close Stapleton Airport. There's no need for a new airport in Denver. Stapleton is already one-third empty.

Q. Where do we need airport expansion? A. Chicago is overcrowded and clearly

needs more runways.

Q. What's the problem?

A. Environmental concerns. Airports that need new capacity are blocked because people want everything to be quiet. They say that if we fly more airplanes, there will he more noise. Well, of course there will. We don't fly gliders. But if they don't have any growth, there won't be any jobs, and there won't be any new wealth. And then it will get real quiet.

Q. You've earned a reputation over the years as the financial whiz of this industry. You invented frequent-fiver plans and supersaver fares. You are also known as perhaps the most relentless cost cutter in the business.

A. We look and we look and we look. We're always trying to find a cheaper way to do it, to avoid paying for something that neonle do not value.

Q. Is it true that you once fired a dog to save money?

A. It's true. We had a cargo warehouse in the Caribbean, and we had a guy there guarding it all night long. I was reviewing the budget, and I wanted to reduce costs. My people said we needed him to prevent thefts. So I said. Put him on part time and rotate his nights so nobody knows when he will be there. And the next year I wanted to reduce costs, and I told them, Why don't we substitute a dog? Turn a dog loose in the warehouse. So we did, and it worked. Now the following year, I needed to get the costs down some more, and my guy said. Well, we're down to a dog! So I said. Why don't you just record the dog snarling? And we did. And it worked! Nobody was really sure whether there was a dog in there

Q. You have said that you sit in this huge office overlooking the Dallas-Fort Worth airport and never look out the window, that all you do is work and eat and sleep and exercise.

A. Yup, that's the kind of business it is, It's not a business for dreamers or dealmakers.

Q. People say you're pretty tough.

A. I think I understand the mission of the company. When we must do something, we will do it. Even if it is unpleasant.

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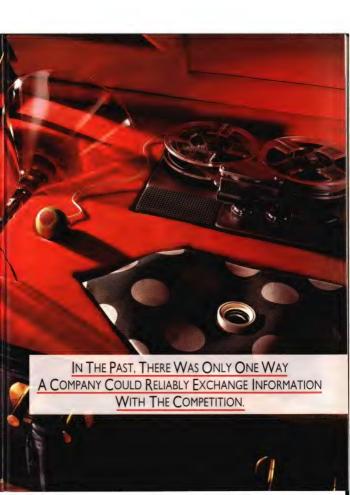
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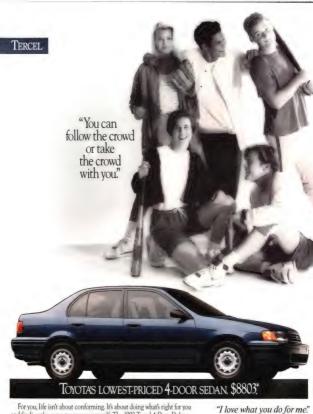
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GRAPEVINE

By JANICE CASTRO/Reported by Daniel S. Levy

GOSH, THOSE UNIFORMS LOOK FAMILIAR

Who is supplying all those Croatian soldiers with U.S. Army gear? Washington is barred by a U.N. resolution from supporting either side, but news footage clearly shows the Croatians wearing nearly complete American battle dress. Fatigues are available in U.S. Army surplus stores, priced at \$66 for a field jacket, \$7 for a helmet. In August, U.S. Customs investigators arrested members of a secret Croatian-support group as they tried illegally to buy Stinger and Redeye antiaircraft missiles, night-vision goggles and other American combat goods. Seeking assault rifles, members of the group simply walked into Doug's Sport and Gun Shop in Calumet City. Ill., and ordered 3,000 M-16s.



In Yugoslavia: Croatian forces buy American

NOTHING SUBTLE ABOUT THESE CHARGES

More fireworks are expected to erupt on Capitol Hill this week as a Senate subcommittee hears evidence in the B.C.C.I. scandal. Witnesses ranging from CIA and State Department officials to Georgia businessman Bert Lance and a former top B.C.C.I. executive will drop one bombshell after another, say staff members on the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations. The most explosive testimony will focus on which heads of state took bribes from the bank, as well as on the role of Washington attorney Clark Clifford and what he knew about his Washington bank's connections to B.C.C.I. Clifford and his partner Robert Altman are due to appear late in the week to answer the fresh allegations concerning them.



CAUTION SOMETIMES HAS ITS PRICE

U.N. investigators might have found it easier to piece together information on Iraq's nuclear capabilities if U.S. Customs agent Daniel Supnick had made a little trip to Baghdad two years ago. In 1989, posing undercover as a California electronics executive, Supnick met in London with Iraqi officials eager to buy 5,000-volt capacitors for use in triggering nuclear devices. When the Iraqis invited Supnick to tour their nuclear facilities back home, Supnick wanted to give it a try. But the State Department nixed the idea as too risky for the agent.

VOX POP Are you currently trying to lose weight? Women

How many Average

WHERE HAVE ALL THE CREDIT CARDS GONE?

In most years, about 30% of all credit cards are in the penalty box, stashed away by consumers who are trying to get their spending under control. But these aren't normal times. Right now, fully half of Citicorp's 30 million Visa and MasterCards are dormant. To chairman John Reed, that's worrisome. As the largest issuer of such cards, Citicorp relies on the profit from those operations (last year: \$610 million) to offset disasters like the depression in commercial real estate. As Americans get serious about whittling down their debts, the profit cushion for many bankers is getting uncomfortably thin,



THOMAS HEARINGS SCORECARD

PHONE COMPANIES Friends debating long distance, citizens swamping the lines to Capitol Hill, and lobbyists sending everything by fax meant big profits for the Bell clan.

C-SPAN The best indictment of those skimpy network sound bites. Don't you wish you could get to know presidential candidates as well as you were able to size up the Judiciary Committee?

TERM LIMITATIONS A lot more voters will probably embrace the idea now, if only because some of those senior Senators seemed so out of touch with reality.

BLACK PROFESSIONALS The Senate turned to impressive black lawyers and public officials on both sides for guidance.

BASEBALL The playoffs were a well-kept secret, and host network CBS took a bath

WHISTLE-BLOWERS The lesson of the hearings seemed to be: Better keep your trap shut.

THE FBI Senators revealed information the FBI had promised to keep secret. Others said agency reports were worthless anyway. SENATE STAFFERS Who are those faceless aides accused of coaching the witnesses, leaking secrets and poisoning the

OTHER TOPICS Tough luck for anyone who was hoping to talk about something else.

atmosphere?

SUPREME COURT

Woman Power

Outraged over the Thomas confirmation, women vow political revenge. But like civil rights leaders, they face rank-and-file divisions.

By PRISCILLA PAINTON

few Americans have picked over the detritus of the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill bonfire and found something they can use. The owners of Spitech, a firm that supplies pocketbook-size recorders, came up with a new ad campaign: "Secusily harnesed?" Force it. Stop i. Sue! Jesse Jackson, the prove i. Stop i. Sue! Jesse Jackson, the ing about "economic harasament." And law schools such as the University as the University of hards are preparing courses on sexual harasament.

But mostly what was discovered in the wreckage of the Supreme Court confirmation hearings was the charred skeletons of some American myths. When the 52-to-48 vote was over Tuesday night, confirming Clarence Thomas as a Supreme Court Justice by the lowest margin of this century, some Americans had to give up a few illusions about fair play and about the complicated dynamics of racial and sexual solidarity. They learned that a woman who comes forward in good faith to make an accusation can become the accused, that skin color matters more to blacks than ideology, and that gender matters less to women than the causes women espouse in the name of feminism

This last lesson is perhaps most startling to America's feminist groups. Two weeks ago, backed by angry calls and letters from women across the country, they demonstrated their clout by pressuring the Senate into investigating Anita Hill's story. When Hill walked into the Senate Caucus Room. women across America saw her as the bearer of an old secret about the ugly politics of accommodation between men and women on the job. But by the time Hill walked out of the hearings, a majority of women had decided she did not speak for them. On the eve of the vote, polls showed that 55% of men found Thomas more believable and that 49% of women agreed.

Faced with this female skepticism, some feminists argue that Hill lost the ideological battle in part because she lost the tactical one. For one thing, she missed prime time. "Anita Hill spoke to 5 million Americans during the day. Thomas spoke to 30 million that night," saws University of

Southern California law professor Su Estrich. More important, perhaps, Hill's putative Democratic allies on the Senate Judiciary Committee sat back as judges while the Republicans played the role of prosecutors, ultimately painting the Yaleeducated law professor as a delusionary careerist with a split personality and a tendency to cull lawbooks for references to pornographic film stars. "The asymmetry was tough to watch," says a top strategist for the Democrats. "The Democrats have always been the defenders of women's issues, but when one of those issues was brought to center stage, they caved, Hill was savaged for three days by Republicans who played to win. No one cross-examined Thomas in the same tone.'

The Thomas Agenda

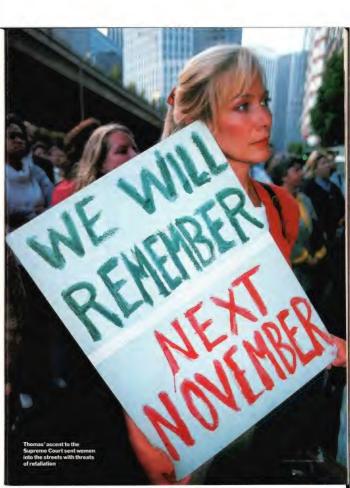
Among key issues that Clarence Thomas will have to grapple with on the high

- CHURCH AND STATE: In Lee v. Weisman, the court will be asked to decide whether public school authorities violate the Establishment Clause when they allow a commencement speaker to mention God in an invocation. Argument: Nov. 6.
- PORNOGRAPHY: In Jacobses 12 to U.S. the Color of the U.S. the could be 13 to U.S. the Color of the U.S. the U
- CIVIL RIGHTS: In Ayers v. Mabus, the court will have to determine whether Mississippi has dismantled its "dual" higher-education system. Enrollment at formerly white and black campuses continues to follow a pattern of de facto segregation. Argument: Nov. 13.

In the end, however, Hill lost her own female constituency not because of poor timing or poor friends in the Senate but because of an unspoken factor that has kept the women's movement from becoming a consistent force in American politics: class. In office after office last week, informal polls often turned up the same split; secretaries sided with Thomas while their male and female bosses took Hill's side. When J.C. Alvarez came forward as a witness for the judge and described Hill as aloof and ambitious, she played a real-life version of Tess, the secretary pitted against a Wall Street shrew in the movie Working Girl. Peggy Noonan, a former speechwriter for George Bush, calls it a division "between clever people who talk loudly in restaurants and those who seat them." However they are described, the two groups are separated by privilege. "Both working-class women and highly educated women put up with sexual harassment every day," says Anne Reingold, media director for the Democratic Party. "But the perception among working-class women is that a Yale degree just gives you the right to make a federal case out of it. Besides, if you can't get a good-paying job somewhere else, what good is that degree anyway?

Instead of dwelling on last week's setback, women around the country lashed out at the Senate's 98 male members and threatened to target those who put Thomas on the high court. They jammed the phone lines at the Democratic Party. They staged demonstrations aimed at both Democrats and Republicans, from Washington to San Francisco. They joined or donated money to women's groups and generally vented their outrage. "We will no longer beg for our rights from men in power. We will replace them and take power ourselves," Patricia Ireland, executive vice president of the National Organization for Women, told the Washington Post. Said Eleanor Smeal, president of the Fund for the Feminist Majority: "The Senate did more in one week to underscore the critical need for more women in the Senate than feminists have been able to do in 25 years. There was predictable talk about form-

ing a third political party dedicated to women's causes. The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee—headed by



Virginia Senator Charles Robb, who cast his vote for Thomas-took a double hit. Its annual fund raiser in Washington was picketed by feminists, and the liberal directmail firm of Craver, Matthews, Smith announced it was dropping the group as a client. Some of the party's most loyal contributors, including MCA chairman Lew Wasserman and Democratic dovenne Pamela Harriman, put the party on notice that they would not raise a dime for the 11 Democratic Senators who gave Thomas his slim victory

But even as they threatened retaliation, women's groups were forced to confront the volatility and fragmentation of their movement. "We can talk about our anger, but are we angry enough to do the hard things, to be single-minded and do the things that need to be done to play to win? asked Emily Tynes, a Washington consulthey are not likely to sweep a large number of women into office. Women's groups christened 1990 the Political Year of the Woman, but only one of the seven women who ran for the Senate last year, Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, was elected; she voted for Thomas last week. In Congress pro-choice activists have helped pass a bill to overturn the gag rule that now forbids doctors to discuss abortion at federally funded clinics, but they cannot muster enough votes to override Bush's veto. Next week the Senate will take up Senator John Danforth's civil rights bill, which for the first time would award compensatory damages to victims of sexual harassment. But even after the recent outpouring of testimony about the problem, congressional lobbyists are not sure the Senate will produce the votes to override a presidential veto. When a similar bill came before Govson to worry: the issue divides their party and has already cost them the governorships of Virginia, New Jersey and Texas, as well as a congressional seat in a special election in Massachusetts this year. Says Massachusetts pollster Gerry Chervinsky: "People may not think sexual harassment is a voting issue, but they will vote on abortion.

If feminist leaders have important lessons to learn from the Thomas hearings, so do the nation's civil rights advocates. By branding his ordeal a "high-tech lynching," Thomas turned his near lost battle into a referendum about skin color. His support amone blacks moved from the mid-50% range to 71% on the eve of the vote. Until then. Democrats had countered Bush's masterly selection of a black conservative by calculating that Southern Senators, who were elected with thin white support and a

strong black turnout, would not be penalized by whites for voting against a black man-or by blacks for rejecting a conservative. But with the appearance of Hill, race won out over gender. "The Southern Senators are concerned about their black base," says Ronald Walters, a Howard University political scientist. "They got it right. The civil rights leaders got it

That is the same gap that Republicans have attempted to exploit in their three-year-old, offand-on effort to wrest at least 20% of the black vote from the Democrats. Bush made his contribution last week. "I don't believe that the civil rights leaders all speak for the American people on a matter of this nature," he said. That challenge to a traditional Democratic constituency comes at a time when blacks are expressing growing disenchantment with the party-not by joining the ranks of Republicans but simply by not supporting

Democrats. In 1988 black-voter turnout was down 5% overall and 20% in major metropolitan areas such as Philadelphia, New York and Chicago. This sense of alienation persisted in 1990, when black dissatisfaction with Democrat Neil Hartigan in Illinois virtually elected Republican Jim Edgar as Governor. Last year the Joint Center for Political Studies, a policy center focused on black politics found that the number of blacks identifying themselves as Democratic had decreased

to take advantage of black disappointment in the Democrats any more than feminists can exploit the anger that some women feel over the Senate's distrust of Hill. For what last week made clear is that in the politics of sex and race, the rules are always changing. - With reporting by Michael Duffy and Julie Johnson/Washington and Elizabeth Taylor/Chicago

Still, the Republicans may not be able



Race cut gender: a majority of blacks ignored civil rights leaders and sided with Thomas

tant to liberal groups. And what does playing to win mean? Does it mean targeting Pennsylvania Senator Arlen Specter, who voted for Thomas but is pro-choice?

Since its peak two decades ago, the women's movement has spawned subgroups whose diverse interests range from pushing day care to combating pornography. In some ways, feminist politics have expanded too much to keep women under one tent. In the Thomas-Hill aftermath, feminists took their energy in different directions: Geraldine Jensen, who heads a Toledo-based organization that seeks to strengthen child-support laws, says she plans to use the recent performance of the Senate Judiciary Committee to illustrate to her supporters why tough enforcement legislation has failed. "Now people will understand me when I say that these are the ones making the decisions," she says

While such lessons may be inspiring.

ernor Pete Wilson in California last week, | he killed it.

Though Bush has consistently frustrated the feminists, anyone hoping to defeat him on women's issues in 1992 may have an uphill battle. The gender gap, which is the difference in support between men and women, for a President vawned as wide as 14% in the 1988 campaign. It has now shrunk to only 5%.

Ironically, many women are hoping that their movement will get a strong boost next year if the Supreme Court decides to overturn or restrict the abortion rights granted by the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision. Major decisions are often handed down in late June or early July, at the end of the court's annual session. An antiabortion ruling then would give speakers at the Democrats' July convention the ammunition to denounce the work of G.O.P.appointed Justices. Republicans have rea-

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

You Shouldn't Win 'Em All

T alk about determination. In the midst of the Clarence Thomas political war. George Bush took to his new putting green on the South Lawn, and armed with his 48-in. Pole-Kat putter, he launched a ferocious assault on the flag.

Startled White House aides heard shouts of triumph float up from the shrubs when the ball found the hole. "I got it! got it!" Bush exulted. In fact, as a remarkable week came to a close, the President had got almost everything he wanted on every front he chose to fight. And he chose many.

When aides suggested that he veto the \$6.4 billion unemployment-benefits bill with no fanfare. Bush would have none of it. He ordered a Rose Garden offensive with his political

general staff assembled for the cameras, and he signed the veto with a flourish. As House Minority Leader Robert Michel left the scene, he muttered, only partly in jest, "Could you airbrush me out of this picture?"

But the President's maneuver succeeded. His record for sustained vetoes remained perfect—23 to zip.

Even some of Bush's Republican friends are astonished at his enduring toughness, although it is cloaked in Yankee properness. "He set rules for himself for eight years as Vice President," explains one. "He never bragged about what he did for Reagan, he never criticized Reagan. He was tough as nails, but it was masked by many different exterior signals."

Older friends, like Mississippi Democrat Sonny Montgomery, who met Bush on the Hill after being elected to Congress in 1966, had a better fix. "When he locks his mind on something," says Montgomery, "he is going all the way."

Almost weekly now, either publicly or privately. Bush sends a message to Saddam Hussein to live by the truce signed last March. "I intend to see that he abides by every one of those U.N. resolutions."

Bush tells his staff. The President is unwavering in his belief that the time has come for the U.S. to assert its interests in the Middle East, even when it means opposing Israel.

John Sunnus remains as While House chief of staff despite recommendations from Buds 3 adsiess and friends that Sunnus be dumped for his abuse of government transportation. "But Sunnus is not the same chief of staff," daims an aide. Sunnus got the message: either abandon some of your perks or leave, Buds bent him with what one White House man termed "presidential tough love," a mix of ire and affect and a staff of the staff of the

Not since John Kennedy's time have discipline and determination been so pervasive in an administration. Lyndon Johnson managed his domestic agenda with an iron hand, but when it came to running the Vietnam War his ignorance of world affairs made him uncertain. The opposite was true of Nixon, the consummate power broker in global matters but a fellow who never mastered the followays of the capital. And neither Johnson nor Nixon held the depth of respect from their staff that Bush now enjoys.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. once wrote that successful Presidents progressed only by defeating vociferous and protesting minorities. Franklin Rossevelt rode roughshod over entrenched minorities to create the New Deal. Harry Truman not only battled outside skepties bur also went against his own Secretary of State. George Marshall, in rushing to re-

ognize the state of Israel in 1948, Political capital had to be expended. By that measure, Bush is doing the job right. But there is a danger and a downside to relentless attack. Resentment collects and coagulates among the defeated. Toughness sometimes shades into arrogance and stubbornness. Author Gloria Steinem hardly bothered to focus her ire on the Senators who in the end supported Judge Thomas for the Supreme Court and instead unleashed her anger against "the master puppeteer." In the political world that is both grudging compliment and warning. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, smarting yet again from defeat, took the floor after the Thomas vote and poured unusual rancor on Bush. Every vic-

Bush carefully studied the leadership style of Ronald Reagan, which was to keep a public amiability while having a wreeking crew ready in the boiler room. Bush has had his political roughnecks, like Roger Ailes and the late Lee Atwater, who played the Willie Horton race card in the 1988 campaign. "I can't imagine this campaign will "I can't imagine this campaign will."

tory alienates someone

Atwater, who played the Willie Horton race eard in the 1988 campaign will be that tough," muses a White House tactician. "But we will be ready."

Bush himself has changed. It has been a long time since he blurted anything like "kickeda liftle ase" or had an on-camera goody streak. The other day his barber. Milton Pitts, asked Bush if he'd heard any new jokes. "All the jokes have dried up," answered Bush. That's an exaggeration, bur Pitts did untice a few more gray hairs, a few more wrinkles. The war Bush wages his taken at toll.

Old L.B.J., perhaps the all-time champion legislator and pop political psychologist, was once asked in his most successful months how come he had lost a couple of minor skirmishes with Congress. "You don't want town ire mall." he said. "Give the other side something, or there may come a day when you won't win anything." George Bush may want to start looking around for a victory or two to throw the Democrats' way lest he forget how lousy if feels to lose.



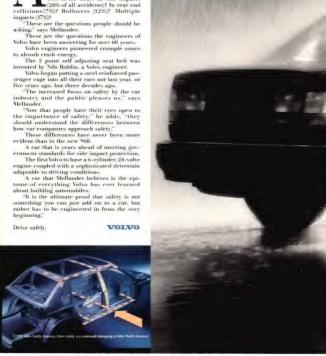
Perfect putt: but losing too can be good strategy

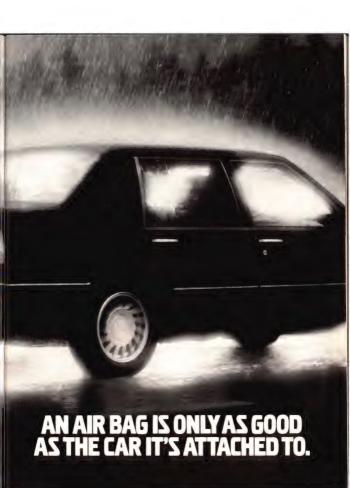
ir bags. Hugo Mellander believes. are giving people a false sense of security.

Mellander is head safety engineer for Volvo in Sweden.

"I don't think people realize an air bag is designed to work in conjunction with a seat belt and only in frontal impacts," says Mellander, "furthermore, frontal impacts account for only 36% of all accidents.

How will a car react the other 64% of the time? In side impacts





PRESS

When Reporters Make News

After dishing the dirt on Thomas and Hill, journalists have to deal with allegations about themselves

By JOHN ELSON

N ina Totenberg, the respected legalaffairs correspondent for National Public Radio, was co-anchor for Pus coverage of the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on Clarence Thomas. Her commentary, though a bit preachy, sounded authoritative. Totenberg had a more than normal interest in the outcome. Several

committee members were demanding an inquiry into the leak that had provided Totenberg and New York Newsday's Timothy Phelps with the scoop that Anita Hill had accused Thomas of sexual harassment, which led to the hearings she was covering. Moreover, Totenberg said one reason she took the charges against Thomas seriously was that she herself had once been sexually harassed. That disclosure led to a public reopening of a painful, 20year-old chapter in her life. Juan Williams, a frequent

guest on TV talk shows, writes for the Washington Poar's Vanday magazine and Outlook section. On Oct. 10, the newspaper's op-ed page carried an influential column labeled "Open Season on Clarence Thomas." in which Williams accused some Judiciary Committee staff members of desperately seeking.

"mud" to block the nominee. Not until five days later did *Post* readers learn that Williams was facing charges of verbal sexual harassment filed by female employees of the newspaper.

In far different ways, the Totenberg and Williams situations illustrate the ethical and professional dangers that confront journalists when they allow themselves to become part of the story they are covering. Totenberg is no stranger to scoops or controversy. Until the Thomas hearings, she was probably best known for her 1987 disclosure that Supreme Court nominee Douglas Ginsburg smoked marijuana while a law professor at Harvard. The subsequent furor compelled Ginsburg to withdraw his candidacv. A Boston University dropout, Totenberg graduated from the women's page of the Boston Record-American to the now defunct National Observer. She was

fired from the Observer after writing a story that contained quotes she lifted from the Washington Post. Since joining SPR in 1974. Totenberg has carned a reputation as Washington's best at covering the federal courts, although critics consider her abrasive and teatless.

Totenberg's role in breaking the Anita Hill story has made her the target of Thomas sympathizers. Last week the edi-

Totenberg and Williams: skeletons in the closet, real or alleged

Are readers and viewers entitled to know

Are readers and viewers entitled to know whether the reporter of a story has a personal stake in its outcome?

torial page of the Wall Street Journal, whose parent company published the Notional Observer, ran a lengthy piece on the hearings, including a rethash of Totenberg's dismissal for plagiarism 20 years ago, as well as her charge that she was executify harassed at the paper. Why did the Journal for into all that 20 Observers noted that the Journal And editorially championed Thom. The control of the paper had been criticized for its minimal coverage of Hill Salex and the paper had been criticized for its minimal coverage of Hill Salex action.

Williams first met Thomas in 1986 and subsequently wrote an admiring profile of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission chairman for the Atlantic. In recent TV appearances Williams suggested that Hill's charges against Thomas, who is now a friend, were baseless. Shortly after he wrote his op-ed-page piece, Williams was told by Post assistant managing editor.

Tom Wikinson of the newsroom-harassment charges, which Williams claims inment charges, which Williams claims inwolved only a few innocent "jokes," In what the Post admits was an administrative lapse. Meg Greenfield, who edits the op-ed page, was not informed by either Wilkinson or executive editor Leonard Downie of Williams' potential conflict. That his piece ran with no mention of the sexual-harassment charges against him apparently inspired several Post employees to add their manes to the 18st of this alteged victims.

So what, then, ought to be the guidelines? Ben Bagdikian, former dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at Berkeley, believes that reporters with a special interest in a story should be barred or should recuse themselves from covering

it. "There are two problems." he says. "One is whether reporters with an involvement or stake in a story can be objective. The other is whether or not readers can believe they're being objective."

Some experts argue that Totenberg was just doing her job in the Hill case and that her opinions on issues are all up front and available for the audience to accept or discount. "The fact that she happened to be the vehicle for Hill's charges becoming public isn't germane to her being a commentator," says Stephen Isaacs, associate dean of Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism. As for her own involvement with sexual harassment, George Harmon of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern is more sanguine. "She's a professional," Harmon

a professional." Harmon says. "She ought to be able to cover a story without having her mind

clouded by her own experience. Different issues arise from the Williams case. The columnist says, and Post editors do not disagree, that his pro-Thomas piece was invited and submitted before he was told about the harassment charges. But Mark Jukowitz, media critic of the weekly Boston Phoenix, contends, "If I'm Juan Williams, I absolutely take myself out of the ball game"-meaning no further comment on Thomas. (In fact, executive editor Leonard Downie ordered Williams to stop appearing on TV shows until the charges against him are resolved.) It may be hard to decide where to draw the line, but Columbia's Isaacs points to one helpful rule: "Always conduct your business with the knowledge that whatever you do could end up on -Reported by Sophfronia Page One.

Page One. —Reported by Sophironia Scott Gregory/New York and Elaine Shannon/ Washington



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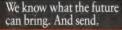
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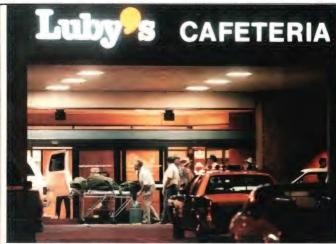
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Bloody aftermath: bodies of shooting victims are removed from the scene of last week's massacre in Killeen, Texas



Ten Minutes in Hell

In the worst mass murder in U.S. history, a gunman turns a Texas café into a killing field, leaving 23 dead

By RICHARD WOODBURY

t first it seemed like a freak accident. As the usual lunchtime crowd iammed Luby's Cateteria in Kitleen, Texas, last Wednesday, a blue Ford Ranger pickup tore across the parking lot and barreled straight through the restaurant's plate-glass window. A few startled customers ran to help the driver. To their horror, a muscular young man in a green shirt sprang from behind the wheel with a semiautomatic pistol and began firing. "This is what Bell County did to me ... This is payback day!" he shouted as he made his way through the crowd, pumping bullets in every direction.

One of the gunman's first victims was an elderly man who was struck by the truck and shot in the head as he attemptgrandmother, and killed 71-year-old Al Gratia, who ignored his daughter's pleas and rose to confront the killer. As screams pierced the air, the gunman moved toward the crowded serving line and continued firing. Pausing only long enough to pack fresh clips into his two semiautomatic pistols-a Glock 17 and a Ruger P-89-he worked his way methodically around the rectangular, beige-colored hall. Cool and deliberate, he felled most of his victims point-blank in the head or chest, sometimes reaching under tables where many diners had huddled and flattened themselves on the gray carnet

Mere chance seemed to determine who lived and who died. At one instant, the killer spared a mother and child, barking at her to get the voungster "out of here." ed to get up. The gunman then fired on a elderly woman put her arm around her

husband, who had been wounded. As the killer approached her, she looked up, then bowed her head, and he shot her. The ounman faced down another patron, Sam Wink, but when a woman nearby tried to race off, he was distracted and fired at her. allowing Wink to flee. "It just seemed like slow motion, and he shot forever," Wink recalled. One woman survived by hiding in a freezer; she was later treated for hypothermia. Food preparer Mark Mathews, 19, escaped by hiding inside an industrial dishwasher. He was so frightened that he did not come out until the following day. The killer continued for a full 10 min-

utes, until four police officers arrived on the scene, returned his fire and wounded him four times. The gunman then stumbled into a rear alcove, where he pumped a bullet into his own head. By the time he slumped to the floor, the death toll stood



With some animals, the mothers protect the sound. But with muck coun, a species with a carning and often low rate of reproduction, the entire head manufes the woung and will fight

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Nation

at 23. It was the worst mass murder in U.S. history, surpassing the 1984 massacre at a McDonald's restaurant in San Ysidro, Calif., that left 21

The killer was quickly identified as George Hennard, 35, an unemployed seaman with a reputation as an oddball. An intemperate recluse who apparently hated women, Hennard was thrown out of the merchant marine in 1989 for possessing a small amount of marijuana. He lived alone in his mother's stately brick house in nearby Belton, where he delighted in screaming obscenities at passing females and harassing neighbors with threatening letters. But Hennard's strange life-style could not begin to explain the enormity of his act. Said police chief Francis Giacomozzi: "There was nothing we recovered to show he was capable or intended to do anything like he did. The whos, whats, whens and whys-we may never be

able to figure them out. were female, there was specu-

lation that he had been driven by misogyny. As Hennard stomped through the restaurant, he shouted, "Bitch!" and "Take that, bitch!" several times before firing. For years he fought furiously with his mother. who now lives in Nevada; he used to draw caricatures of her with a serpent's body. and once reportedly threatened to kill her. A sometime rock drummer, he liked music



Because 14 of his 22 victims | Investigators at Luby's can only guess at the killer's motive

women. "He used to say that women are vile and disgusting creatures," fellow musician Alexandria Garner told the Austin

American-Statesman. An Army surgeon's son, Hennard moved often with his family and graduated from high school in Las Cruces, N. Mex., in 1974. After a brief stint in the Navy, he joined the merchant marine. The ending of Hennard's sea duty following his 1989 marijuana bust left him "very, very depressed," his mother told the Houston Post. Hennard said to a judge at the time, "It means a way of life, it means my livelihood. It means all I've got. It's all I know." He underwent drug treatment at a Houston hospital that year. but in recent months had lived a seeluded life in the expansive colonial home at Belton. The house, which his mother had kent after divorcing her husband in 1983, was up for sale.

Hennard had several runins with the local cops. Last May, for example, neighbor Judy Beach complained that he had shouted epithets at her and her son as they searched for a lost baseball glove near his home. "I'll never forget how he was looking at me," she said, recalling that Hennard wound a garden hose around his hands "in a threatening manner" and screamed, "Bitch!" No charges were pressed. When he frightened two young sisters with a letter describing women in the

with lyrics that expressed violence toward | community as "treacherous female vipers," their mother reported it to the police. But

the cops did not consider him dangerous. Hennard was meticulous, always cleaning his truck or the yard, and would curse out garbagemen for leaving litter on his lawn. He was also a creature of habit, eating the same sausage-and-biscuit breakfast each day at a neighborhood convenience

No Lessons Learned

One group of Americans was unmoved by the carnage in Texas last week: the Congressmen who voted 247 to 177 to defeat a measure that would have banned 13 different assault weapons and the high-capacity ammunition clips that make those guns even deadlier.

The proposal sought to close a loophole in an existing law on semiautomatic weapons, those rapid-fire guns that require a single squeeze of the trigger for every round discharged. In 1989, two months after a deranged man with a semiautomatic murdered five children at a Stockton, Calif., elementary school. President Bush was persuaded to place a ban on the importation of all such foreign-made weapons. But the edict was virtually meaningless, since the vast majority of "semis" purchased in the U.S. are manufactured at home.

Earlier this year, gun-control advocates won a rare victory on Capitol Hill when the House endorsed a seven-day waiting period during which police may check the backgrounds of prospective handgun purchasers. They argued that the ban on domestic semiautomatics and the restriction of magazines containing more than seven rounds was a logical next step that could prevent haunted individuals from committing mass murders. During the House debate, one legislator did switch his vote: Chet Edwards, a Texas Democrat and gun-control opponent whose district includes Killeen, site of last week's killings, "Suddenly, the old arguments ring hollow-'Guns don't kill people, people do' . This is one step, one reasonable, commonsense effort to put in regulations in the real world of crazed individuals and

But the horror of 23 dead did not counterbalance the wellestablished lobbying might of the National Rifle Association. Opposing what some pro-gun legislators called a "feel-good amendment," the N.R.A. mobilized its 2.5 million members in a relentless and successful campaign to defeat the measure. An Administration spokeswoman, employing one of the gun lobby's favorite bromides, said the President opposed the law because it is impossible to "legislate behavior." If that were really so, there would be no need for most of the laws that have provided the glue for civilization over the past 4,000 years.

store. Owner Mary Mead recalls that "he always had such a look on his face, we were scared." But just before the massacre last Wednesday morning, she says, "he seemed real nice"

for some reason Hennard had had no trouble obtaining his weapons. He purchased both the lightweight, plastic-

framed Glock and the Ruger in Nevada, and registered them with the Las Vegas police last winter. In Texas where the Glock is valued by cops and criminals alike for its rapid-fire action, the pistol can be

bought at gun shops and variety stores by filling out nothing more than a brief federal form. After attending a prayer service for the dead and injured. Governor Ann Richards renewed a call for controls on automatic weapons.



Surveying the wreckage: chance apparently determined who lived, who died

"Dead lying on the floor of Luby's should | be enough evidence we are not taking a rational posture," she said.

As authorities probed Hennard's murky past for answers, Killeen set about burying its dead and consoling the survivors. Townsfolk who had worn yellow ribbons while troops from nearby Fort Hood were in the Middle East began wearing white ones last week. Others left flowers outside the cafeteria's shattered façade. There was talk that the restaurant. like the McDonald's in San Ysidro, might be permanently closed. In its grief, Killeen could be thankful for the network of psychological counselors who rushed in to assist. The Army had brought them to the Fort Hood region to

deal with the heavy casualties that were expected during Desert Storm. As it turned out, the community lost twice as many people in last week's rampage as it did in the entire gulf war.

Reported by Kathryn Jones/Killeen

How I Bought a Gun in 40 Minutes

By SHARON CARRICO-MARTIN HOUSTON

oday I purchased a gun. I've never used a gun before, never even handled one, unless you count my little brother's BB gun 30 years ago

I set out to buy a 9-mm Glock 17, the same model that George Hennard had used two days earlier in his massacre of 23 people in Killeen, 175 miles north of Houston, I called Carter's Country, a gun store, first. They did not carry it but suggested several stores, including Wal-Mart. I decided to try the chain but struck out at the first Wal-Mart I visited. "I don't stock them," said the salesman, "This is a chean-gun neighborhood." He suggested another outlet, and a customer-service representative dialed the number and handed me the receiver. I was told I would need about \$550 for the gun and bullets. I stopped at the bank for money, then headed for

I went to the sporting-goods counter and said I would like to buy a 9-mm pistol. "You want that Glock?" the salesman asked, recognizing my voice. He took out the display gun, which had a locked trigger, and gave it to me. "Here you are, Model 17. They make a Model 19 also." Another customer, who turned out to be a grocery-store manager, spoke up. "That's a popular gun right now. They're real popular with the kids-high school kids. They buy them off the streets. They tell me if you pay \$500 for a gun, you're paying too

much. They can get them for \$75 to \$125. I expressed amazement. "Yeah, they come up to me and say, 'I can find you one chean if you want.

I was tempted, but the salesman returned with the Model 19. We discussed the differences between the two models. "Well," I said, "I want one that's going to hit every time. How does it work?" When the salesman learned that I had never used a pistol before, he recommended that I get Within easy reach: a Glock 17 pistol

training from a professional at a practice range. I asked about the parts of the gun: the clip, the bullets, where everything fit. The gun holds a total of 17 bullets, and a spare clip is included.

'How much is it?" I asked. "Four hundred and seventy-nine."

"Can I bring it back if I don't like it?"

While the clerk called for the department manager, the grocer showed me how to load, cock and fire the gun, and then tried to persuade me that a .38 might be better. Not once had I said why I wanted to buy a gun, much less this one. Both men had assumed I wanted it for protection, but the salesman didn't question the wisdom of buying this model. The manager arrived, told me I could return it and mentioned that Popular Mechanics had recently tested the Glock with excellent results

The clerk brought out a yellow federal form, and I filled in my name, address, height, weight, race, and date and place of birth. I also answered eight yes-or-no questions about my citizenship, criminal record, illegal drug use, and whether I had ever been judged mentally defective or been dishonorably discharged from the armed forces. After I signed it, he asked to see my driver's license. I said I didn't have it on me but could recite the number and had other I.D. He insisted on the driver's license, so I retrieved it from the car. He compared it with the information on the form, filled in his portion of the Firearms Transaction Record and rang up the

sale. As the manager walked me out, he told me that two months ago, Wal-Mart had changed its policy and now required that ammunition be sold separately.

Hocked the gun in my car and returned to buy the ammo. The salesman showed me two types: one for target practice and hollow-point bullets that expand on impact. I was in a hurry, so I just bought one box of each. Total time spent in the store: 40 minutes



AMERICAN NOTES



Beer by the rules at Rutgers

COLLEGES To Keg or Not to Keg?

It has been the centerpiece of countless late-night dormitory parties. But the enduring popularity of the venerable beer halfkeg has led dozens of colleges to ban its use in an effort to curb campus alcohol abuse. This year Princeton University banished the container, concluding that underage undergraduates will find it more difficult to purchase the same amount of beer in cans and bottles from local liquor stores. But many Princeton alumni have opposed the ban, explaining in a letter that bottles and cans were "more likely ... to cause injury" than a plastic

Meanwhile, Princeton's neighbor to the north, Cook College of Rutgers University, has tapped into a different idea: encouraging the use of kees. Students who want to host campus parties must attend a seminar on responsible drinking and register a keg with the school before serving the brew. Rutgers officials acknowledge that the policy was drawn up only after concluding that it was virtually impossible to keep track of the cans and bottles students had secretly stashed away. Under the new restrictions, says Lee Schneider, the dean in charge of monitoring the plan. "students will act responsibly and take responsibility for others

INTELLIGENCE Step One For Gates

They may not have had the high drama of the Clarence Thoma Anita Hill confrontation, but the Senate hearings on Robert Gates' nomination to head the CIA offered a similar menu of shocking allegations and wildly divergent recollections. Last week the intelligence committee voted 11-4 to recommend his appointment

The panel had heard allegations that as deputy director of the agency under William Casey, Gates ignored intelligence reports that did not conform to the political aims of the Reagan Administration, Also, some witnesses claimed that he may have misled Congress about his knowledge of the Iran-contra affair, a charge that Gates denied. Although some Senators shared Democrat Howard Metzenbaum's skepticism about the nominee's "uncanny ability to forget key events," those doubts were not enough to sink him. The full Senate, seeking to avoid another bruising fight over a presidential appointment, is expected to confirm Gates

SCANDALS

No Apologies This Time

The maxim "Once burned, twice shy" apparently doesn't mean much to televangelist Jimmy Swaggart. Disgraced in 1988 after a liaison with a Louisiana call girl, Swaggart, 56, was stopped by police in Indio, Calif., two weeks ago for a traffic violation and found to be in the company of Rosemary Garcia, an admitted streetwalker. That latest foray prompted Swaggart to resign from his Baton Rouge-based ministry last Tuesday to seek "professional counseling and medical care." But the next day the preacher reversed the decision, explaining to his congregation that God told him to return to the pulpit. Swaggart announced to supporters that "the Lord told



The lowa's fatal fire: its origin may never be known

MILITARY

Without Clear Proof

Ever since a gun turret exploded aboard the battleship Iowa in 1989, killing 47 sailors, the Navy has sought the cause of the blast. The two-year probe, however, has been inconclusive. Last week Admiral Frank Kelso, Chief of Naval Operations, admitted that "despite all efforts, no certain answer regarding the cause of this terrible tragedy can be found." The Navy also apologized to the family of Clayton Hartwig, one of the sailors who perished. An initial criminal investigation had suggested, without strong corroborating evidence. that Hartwig had committed suicide by setting off the explosives because he had been upset over a failed homosexual relationship.

It will probably never be known why bags of ammunition designed for the ship's 16-in. guns ignited during loading, creating the inferno in which the men died. And desnite Kelso's expression of regret that Hartwig was blamed for the incident "without clear and convincing proof," his family is not dropping a \$40 million lawsuit against the Navy for soiling the dead man's name.

ness" and that he didn't have to apologize for his conduct. Swaggart's organization has

been in decline since rival preacher Marvin Gorman circulated photos of Swaggart visiting a prostitute in a New Orleans motel three years ago.



The scandal forced Swaggart to resign from the Assemblies of God, the nation's largest Pentecostal denomination, and near, ly 200 television stations dropped his weekly program. The ministry took another hit last month when a jury in New Orleans found that Swaggart and others had defamed Gorman with allegations of adulterous behavior and ordered the group to pay \$10 million in damages.

Garcia says he wanted sex, but Swaggart won't cry again



In Under Fire, an autobiography written in great

secrecy, North says the emphasis on the

"diversion" of funds to Nicaragua's contras was

itself a diversion - to protect the President. In fact,

believes the former Marine lieutenant colonel:

"Reagan Knew Everything"

By Oliver L. North

n Nov. 25, 1986, at five minutes past noon, President Ronald Reagan and Attorney General Edwin Meese marched into the crowded White House-briefing room to face the press and the TV cameras. As I watched From my office in the Old Executive Office Building, the President explained that he hadn't been told the whole story of our secret arms sales to fram the matter. He then announced that Admiral John Punicett, his National Security, Addresse, that resigned and that Lieu. Colonel Oliver North had been "refleved of his duties on the National Security Council Staff."

What?

Before I could eateh my breath, the President turned over the microphones to the Attorney General and Jeft. Then Ed Messe dropped the bomb. some of the profits from the arms-sales to Iran had been diverted to the Nicaraguan resistance, the contrast. The White I House press corps actually fell silent for a second or two. Then the Darrage began, Dat the President Rowalbout this?

Meese: The President knew nothing about it until I reported it to him.

What?

What?

Well, then, who did know?

Messe: The only person in the U.S. government that knew precisely about this, the only person, was Lieut. Colonel North. What?!

Messe: Admiral Poindexter knew that something of this nature was occurring, but he did not look into it further, cita Director Casey, Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, myself, the other members of the NSC—none of us knew.

"What Colonel North did—is that a crime? Will he be prosecuted?"

Morse: We are presently looking into the legal aspects of it as to whether there's any criminality involved. Criminality?!

For three weeks, ever since our Iran initiative had been exposed by a Beirut magagine, the 'Administration's strategy had been unspoken but unmistadable: this must not become another 'Matergale. And so in Northernber 1986, somebody—probably Donald Regan, the White House their of staff, or Narny Reagam—decided White House their of staff, or Narny Reagam—decided for the news media could cause any damage, the White House field would dischose the story.

The Administration chose to focus almost exclusively on the "diversion." and there was certainly a lot to be agained by presenting it that way. This particular detail was so dramatic, so sexy, that it might actually—well, divert attention from other, even more important aspects of the story, such as what else the President and his top orbitons be also use shout and errormed.

advisers had known about and approved.

And if it could be insinuated that this was the exclu-

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Nov. 25. 1986: Reagan and Meese disclose the Iran-contra "diversion" and North's dismissal

sive responsibility of one mid-level staff assistant at the National Security Council (and perhaps his immediate superior, the National Security Adviser), and that this staffer had acted on his own (however unlikely that might be), and that, now that you mention it, his activiuses might even the criminal—if the public and the press to the council of the property of the property of the council of the Waterpate on your hands after all. Especially if you insisted that the President knew nothing about it.

That expected to leave, and maybe even be fired but not quite so publicly. Still, I'd had plenty of warning that my days at the six even numbered. I was, after all, deeply involved in two major, secret and politically explosive projects, the Iran initiative and the contras, and both had begun to urravel a few weeks earlier.

Shortly after the Sandinistas shot dawn a courae resupply plane with American Lugane Hasentisoon board. William Cissey, the director of the Cra, had said of the operation. "Shut it down and clean it up." Somethicks head would have to roll, and offering me up as a political scapegoat was part of the plan-although Casey, believed three would be others. If it course out, it had come out, he said. "His not going to stop with you."

But never in my darkest nightmares did I imagine that anything I had done in the service of the President, my Commander in Chief, could lead to criminal charges.

As soon as the press conference was over, everybody's favorite Watergate question began to reverberate. What did the President know, and when did he know it? According to the polls, a majority of the American people believed that President Reagan did know. I thought so too.

And now, five years later, I am even more convinced:

President Reason knew everything.

which we have been a second or the second of the second of

There is an additional possibility: people around the President, and perhaps even President Reagan himself, were involved in an effort to protect the highest office in the land—and the man who occupied it.

In his memoirs, Ronald Reagan wrote, "We sent word to the lawyers representing Oliver North and John Poinduster, who knew what had happened, that I wanted them to tell the entire truth and do nothing to protect me." I was surprised to read that, and I asked my lawyers if they ever received such an insessage. They hadri. In the other truth, The only message I heard was "examerate the Bresident."

- ➤ On Dec. 11. H. Ross Perot, the Texas entrepreneur, met with Brendan Sullivan, my lawyer, "Look," he said, "why doesn't Ollie just end this thing and explain to the Fist that the President didn't know? If he goes to jail, I'll take care of his family, And I'll be happy to give him a job when he gets out."
- ► On Dec. 17, a military aide to Vice President Bush vis-

The Administration's strategy [was] unmistakable:

this must not become another Watergate.

ited me and Brendan Sullivan. He suggested that I waive my Fifth Amendment rights and absolve the President of responsibility. Naturally, we wondered: Had this officer come on his own? Had he been sent? I still don't know.

▶At the end of January, Paul Lacalt, one of Ronald Reagan's oldest and closest political friends, offered a legal memorandum to my defense team arguing that I would not waive my Fifth Amendment rights if Lehoes to state publicly that the President did not know about the diversion. My lawyers rejected this proposal out of hand.

It's also possible that these approaches were part of a pattern that began even earlier, with President Reagan himself. A few hours after the Nov. 25 press conference, a White House operator tracked me down in Virginia hotel. When President Reagan came on the line, I expressed my regret for what had taken place, and that the Iran initiative had blown up in our faces.

"Ollie," said the President, "you have to understand, I just didn't know."

Looking back, Iwonder why he put it quite that way, and whether he was implying more than I realized at the time. He could have said, "Ollie, why didn't you tell me about the diversion?" Or "Ollie, whice in cliden't know what was going on." Instead, it was. "You have to understand, Just didn't know." I now wonder whose the he was slone when he made that call, Was. Don Regan dearth was really trying to tell me was Look, Ollie, you and I know better, but the line we're putting out is that J didn't know. So please go along with it.

It's possible, of course, that President Reagan meant exactly what he said. On the other hand, he was almost always scripted, and I don't have to stretch hard to imagine Donald Regan giving careful thought to the language the boss should use.

Many friends and supporters say, "You knocked yourself out carrying out his policies and even risked your life by going to Tehran. Don't you feel betrayed?"

your life by going to Tehran. Don't you feel betrayed?"
Sometimes I do. In terms of the difference he made
in the world, I'm very glad he was President for eight
years. Yet he could have ended years of suffering for
me and my family—by granting a pardon or by shufting
down the office of the special prosecutor. Is that betray-

al? Well, it sure as hell wasn't supportive.

How Iran-Contra Unfolded

Dec 1, 1981 President Reagan signs "finding" authorizing CIA assistance for contras in Nicaragua

May 21, 1983 State Department launches Operation Staunch to discourage sale of arms to Iran by other nations.

April 6, 1984 Wall Street Journal exposes CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors as Reagan lobbies for \$24 million in contra aid. Oct 12, 1984 Third and most restrictive of Boland amendments forbids all U.S. intelligence agencies to support the contras.

March 16, 1985 Associated Press bureau chief Terry Anderson is kidnapped in Beirut.

July 18 1985 Reagan approves Iran initiative in meeting with Robert McFarlane

Sept 14 1985 Shipment of 408 row antitank missiles goes from Israel to Iran

Putting a Lid on the Kettle

A prodecessor to both the fram initiative and the contrasupply scheme was 4 William Casey-inspired covert program, Operation Typped Kettle. In 1983-84, hundreds of tons of Sovie-blow wapons captured from the Patient Liberation Organization by the Israelis were transferred by the C45s of the Contrasts. But the disclosure that the C45s of the Contrasts But the disclosure that the C45s of the Central Microgram harbors infuriated Congress and put the lide of Typped Kettle—and othereal.

The mining led to a spate of hearings. When Tony Motley, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, was called before the House Intelligence Committee, the Congressmen jumped all over him. "This is terrible," one said. "We're involved in illegal, covert actions, and we're killing sailors from other countries."

"Just a minute," Tony replied. "Let me put this thing in context. Fewer people were killed by these mines than died at Chappaquiddick."

Maybe that's why Tony didn't last too long in the job. As good as he was, you can't talk like that and stay very long at the State Department.

For many in Congress, mining the harbors was the last strue. Instead of providing additional money for last strue. Instead of providing additional money for the most restrictive of the five passed between 1981 1986, cutting off all aid to the comms. When that happened, a lot of people expected the resistance to write on the vine and disappear. But President Reagan had no intention of abandoning the course.

In the fall of 1983, Robert McFarlane, the National Security Adviser, asked me for a list of countries that might be approached. In late March 1984, Bill Casey, sees fill Buld memor celling him that he Casey, was "in full agreemen" that McFarlane should "explore funding algreemen" that McFarlane should "explore funding alerentiatives with the Issuelisa and perhapsorthers." More the received the Casey memo. Buld made a rare visit to my office. He said, "I want yout to have the resistance open up an offshore bank account so that a foreign contributor our make deposits directly into: I core amake deposits directly into: I

Naturally, I wondered who that foreign contributor might be, but I knew better than to ask, McFarlane knew I would be asking Casey how to set this up, and I assumed he didn't want to put the Cix director in an awk-

(96 were shipped on Aug, 20). Next day, hostage Benjamin Weir is released.

Nov. 24, 1985 U.S. HAWK missiles bound

for Iran arrive m Israel.

Jan. 22, 1986 Iranian arms merchant
Manucher Ghorbanifar proposes "diversion"

of profits from Iran arms sales to contras.

April 4, 1986 North, in message to

Poindexter, proposes diverting \$12 million
in Iran arms profits to contras.

38



North was there as contra leader Calero presented Reagan with an I'M A CONTRA TOO pin

ward position. Casey was continually being called up to Capitol Hill to answer questions, and life was a lot easier

if he didn't know those kinds of answers.

I walked down the hall to Casey's office in the OFOR.

"I've been told to have the resistance set up an offshore

account." I said, "and I could use some help."

Casey leaned back on his chair. He was chewing on a yellow wooden pencil. "Is it the Saudis?" he asked.

"I don't know."
"Come on, don't bullshit me. It's the Saudis, right?"

"Honestly, I don't know."

Casey smiled, "Well, it must be. How much are we

talking about?"
"I don't know that either."

May 25, 1986 McFarlane, North and others

arrive in Tehran to negotiate sale of arms

million in lethal and nonlethal aid to contras.

Eugene Hasenfus and 10,000 lbs, of arms

Sept. 25, 1986 Congress okays \$100.

Oct. 5, 1986 Plane carrying American

and release of hostages.

is shot down in Nicaragua

He peered at me skeptically over his glasses. Then he picked up the secure phone and asked for a number. When somebody picked up at the other end. Casey asked. "It a third party wanted to help our friends down south, who can we trust to handle the money?"

Nov. 3, 1986 Story from Beirut magazine Al Shiraa describing McFarlane's trip to Tehran reaches U.S. press.

Nov 13, 1986 On nationwide TV, Reagan denies he traded arms for hostages.

Nov. 25. 1986 Reagan and Attorney General Ed Meese announce discovery of "diversion," resignation of Poindexter and firing of North.

Dec 19, 1986 Lawrence Walsh appointed special prosecutor.

When Casey hung up, he said, "Calero's your man," Adolfo Calero was a prominent figure in the resistance. "He should set up an offshore account if he doesn't have one already. The money shouldn't come all at once. Have it arrive in regular payments, every month,"

Then Casey held school. "Here's what to do," he began. I look out a notebook. "Put that away," he said. "If you have to write everything down, you don't helong in this business. The money should go directly from a foreign account into Calero's offshore account. It shouldn't come into this country at all, Do it with a wire transfer."

"What, exactly, is a wire transfer?"

Cassy-sighed. He had spent most of his life in the financial world and had even served as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Asking Bill Casey about a wire transfer was a little like asking Einstein. "Excuse me, professors but what is a square root?"

"Why does it have to be an offshore account?" I asked.

July 7-14, 1987 North testifies under immunity before fran-contra committee.

March 16, 1988 Special prosecutor Walsh indicts North.

May 4, 1989 North convicted on three counts, acquitted on nine.

Sept. 16, 199; Walsh drops all remaining charges against North after court rules that testimony of key writings McFarlane was tainted by his exposure to North testimony given under immunity.

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"Two reasons," he replied. First, all Nicaraguan bank accounts in the U.S. had been frozen. Second, the Treasury Department monitors large transfers of funds in and out of American banks, Someone was bound to notice these transactions and start asking questions.

"You're Talking Too Much"

In February 1985, King Fabil of Sauli Arabia mrived in Washington on a state visit. During his meetings with the President, he agreed to provide additional funds to the resistance. When the money began to arrive, Calero used it to hay weapons and supplies. He often called me for advice, and saon we conferred about everything, from where the centrus could buy surface-to-sair missibles to the need for more ob-stetricians in the base cannes.

One afternoon, Casey called me from his office at the Intelligence Community Staff Building on F Street. "Can you come over and see me right now?"

I threw on my coat, ran over to F Street, and took the creaky old elevator to Casey's office. He said. "You're talking too much."

"What do you mean?"

"On the phone. How often are you talking to your pal in Honduras? Three, four times a week?"
"Something like that."

"All in the clear, right?"

"Yes."

"Well, it's got to stop." Casey said these calls made it too easy for the Soviets to listen in on my talks with Calero. He handed me a small black book with a series of little pockets inside. "Have you eyer used one of these?"

"No. How does it work?" He shook his head, as if to

He shook his head, as if to say, Do I have to explain everything? "It's a code book," he said, "You get one, he gets one. You change the code numbers on a set pattern. Now you can talk without giving away the store."

All you had to do was enter the relevant words—Honduras. Nicaragua, guns. ammo. medicine, planes—then line them up with the code numbers in the book, which could be changed every day. It was low-tee that effective. Somebody listening in would have virtually no idea what you were talking about.



Casey told North, "Shut it down and clean it up"

Later, when more people were involved in our contacts with the resistance, Casey called me in again. "What are you doing about security?" he asked. "Your COMSEC |communications security] stinks." Casey was concerned about the Soviets' ability to monitor calls from their listening post in Lourdes, Cuba. What had begun as a simple link between Adolfo and me soon involved more than a dozen people on at least two continents. Adolfo and I were still using the original code books, but that didn't protect the others. Casey recommended a new, Americanmade encryption device manufactured by TRW, the K1.-43.

The code books and communications equipment may have helped keep the Soviets and the Cubans from knowing the details of what I was doing to support the resistance, but the secret kept spreading. There must have been well over 100 people in our gov-

ernment (including State, Defense, Crac, the White House and Congress) who knew at least some of what was being done. As the City phased out and I became the focul point for the resistance, we tried to tighten that circle. But for a covert operation, there sure were all of to people who knew about it—at least until the great plague of amnesia that hit Washington in the fall of 1986.

that hit Washington in the fall of 1986.

As the summer of 1984 came to an end. I felt as if I were straddling a canyon. On one side was the resistance, always expanding, always needing more. On the other was the CIA, which was steadily withdrawing its support. The canyon was growing wider by the day. Un-

About That Cake

In November 1986, when the world learned of our visit to Tehran, it was widely reported that we brought a Bible signed by President Reagan and a cale in the shape of a key-to symbolize our desire to open a new relationship with Iran. The report about the Bible was wrong. But we did bring a cake. It was not, however, in the shape of a key. Moreover, it had no real connection with our mission.

Manucher Chlorbaniller, our channel to the Irrniams, had ashed that we bring a cake as a gift for his aging and videowed mother, who lived in Tehran. Because that was one of Gorba's easier requests, Amiran Nir and I bought a large, rectangular blocolste layer clear at a solven behavier in Tel Airv. Anorat the plane, I carefullaid the cake box on the sink in the galler, During the flight, when I opened the caline above the sink to look for coffee cups, I noticed the matched sets of pistols we had brought as gifts on the same shell as the dishes. Each set of pistols was packed in an elegant case with a handowne brass key.

As I reached for the cups, one of the keys fell onto the uncovered cake, making a sizable indentation. When I saw how deeply the key had fallen, I left it there, hoping it would look like an intentional decoration. "Well," I said to a colleague, "we can always tell Mrs. Ghorbanilar that this is the key to our hearts."

Ghorbanilar's gift never reached his mother. When Nir and I wandered down the hall of the Tehran Hilton, several of the revolutionary guards were playing with the pistols... and eating the cake.

OLIVER L. NORTH

less I had help, and soon, I was going to fall in. But Casey could see what was happening, and he asked me to come out to CIA headquarters at Langley on a Saturday morning to discuss the state of the resistance. I described the problems that were developing in the wake of the Cta's withdrawal. "Money alone isn't enough," I said.

He nodded, "I know, And it'll only get worse in October, when all our people will be gone. You need somebody who can help you out." He leaned back and looked up, as though the answer was written on the ceiling. Whenever he did this, it was all I could do to restrain myself from looking up there with him.

"Do you know Dick Secord?" he asked

"The Air Force general? I know who he is. I talked to him a couple of times.

That's the guy," said Casey "He's got the right experience for this sort of thing. He knows the right people, he gets things done, and he keeps his mouth shut. Why don't you call him?"



When McFarlane said, "Fix it," North "iumped in with both feet"

Teicher and the CtA's George Cave. But it auickly became clear that the man who arranged the trip, a Paris-based expatriate Iranian arms merchant named Manucher Ghorbanifar, had been overpromising both sides. After several days of fruitless meetings, McFarlane aborted the mission. Despite his disappointment, North was relieved to get out of Iran without having to use the six lethal white, triangular pills Casev had given him.

While keeping the Ghorbanifar channel open-it was "Gorba," as North called him, who hatched the notion of divertine profits from Iranian arms sales to the contras-those involved in the initiative sought other means of dealing with the Iranians. Hakim helped put them in touch with one of Iranian Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani's nephews, a man not in government but well connected to it. North found "the Nephew"

realistic about what could be accomplished both in the release of hostages and in developing a dialogue with Iranian moderates.

The Diversion Begins North and Second, a retired Air Force general with long experience in clandestine operations, created Project Democ-

racy, supplying the contras with Soviet-bloc and other weaponry, medical supplies and spare parts abourd a fleet of aircraft financed by private benefactors like Joe Coors and governments including Saudi Arabia and Taiwan. Eventually, Secord's business partner Albert Hakim, an expatriate Iranian, was able to help North in Iran, which soon became his other major account at the NSC

North picked up the Iran account on Nov. 17, 1985, when Bud McFarlane asked him to help Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin get a shipment of American-made Israeli HAWK missiles into Iran. The effort to enlist Iran's help in freeing the Western hostages held in Lebanon in exchange for arms shipments was soon in full swing. In May 1986, North flew to Tehran with McFarlane, Israeli antiterrorist adviser Amiram Nir, the NSC's Howard

I believe it made sense to open a dialogue with Iran and search for pragmatists or moderates in its government. At the time, it seemed that selling a small amount of arms to Iran was worth the risk to make it all work. But a guid pro quo arrangement of arms for hostages? This placed all of us in a moral quandary. Human life is sacrosanct, but making what people would inevitably see as concessions to terrorists was a terrible idea-especially since it violated our prohibition on arms sales to Iran. The decision to proceed was made well above my level. but I became a willing participant.

For me, the most difficult aspect of the endeavor was accepting that we had established a price for a human life: 500 10w missiles. To this day, I find this part of our Iran initiative the most troubling. There were other problems. Premature disclosure of

our dealings with Iran might not only harm the hostages but would also damage American prestige abroad and the President's effectiveness at home. And dealing with the kidnappers, even through intermediaries, might

merely encourage them to take more hostages.

Despite the negatives, for me the moral issue was still a very tough call. It's easy to condemn trading arms for hostages, but the State Department had achieved no success using diplomatic channels. "Fix it had said, and that's all I needed to hear. It was the kind of challenge I thrived on.

I could have quit. Instead, I jumped in with

Not Another Mullah!

At several points during his 1986 visit to Washington, the Iranian emissary we called the Nephew asked for a brief intermission so he could pray. He hadn't brought his prayer rug, so one of my colleagues offered his multicolored gym towel. All this praying led me to make several references to Abraham, the biblical father of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. I also stressed that President Reagan was a man of God. But I apparently pushed the religious comments a little too far.

Finally, the Nephew's keeper took Richard Secord aside to complain, "Gener al," he said, "what's with this guy? We just left a country full of mullahs. And what do I find here but another lousy mullah!"



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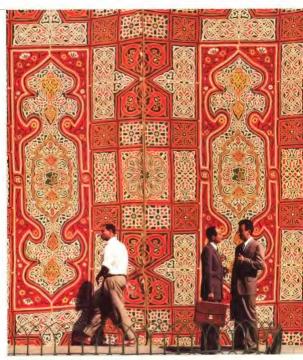
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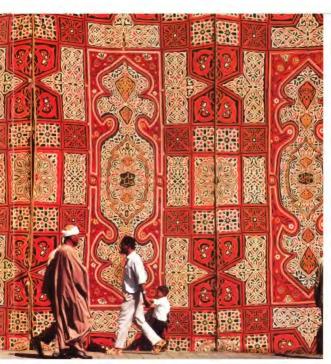
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While North was meeting with the Nophew in early October 1986 in Frankfur. Germany, where the were working toward what would become the release of histoge Devid Jacobson, North learned with the Northart the Sandinistas had shot down Hawerlike (-123 owr hour caugua: "My heart stopped," writes North: "I didn't recognite to have the sendinist of the toward this meant."

North hurried back from Frankfar and was summoned to Crob localiquaries at Longles, where Cases ordered him to shat down Praject Demacraex. He began shredling exerciting he could find thus pertuned to the privace contrast aid effor the areamed to Europe to continue talks with the Spehew. Soon, however, pamphies describing the McKartine measure because and Tehran—the work of real feer unus apposed to reconclination with the U.S. according to the Sephere.

The story soon made its way into the Beirat magazine Al Shiraa and from there into the American press.

Shortly after the Al Shirau revelations, Admiral Poindexter asked for a chronology of the Iran initiative. Because my own involvement in the Iran initiative had not begun until I heard from Rabin in Nevember 1985, I relied on others for earlier details. The chronology started out as two pages but soon expanded to 20.

On Tuscilay, Nov. 18, at almost 8 pm., But Melina have came to my office to "lend a hand," in resolving a draft of the President's remarks for the press conference scheduled for the following night, the proposed several changes to Admiral Poindexter, including a denial that the U.S. had approved my shipments to Iran before Juscilay 1986. When he had finished working on the President's remarks. Bud made the

same changes on the chronology. By now, President Reagan. Admiral Poindexter and Don Regan had met with various congressional delegations to discuss the Iran initiative, and all had studiously avoided any mention of our involvement in the 1985 shipments. On Nov. 12, when President Reagan and his senior foreign policy advisers met with the congressional leadership at the White House, the President pointedly omitted any reference to his O.K. for Israeli row shipments in the summer of 1985 or to his December 1985 finding retroactively authorizing the franian initiative.

From then on, the President and his senior advisers were committed to this version of events.



It was Ghorbanifar, says North, who first raised the idea of the "diversion"

In his speech to the nation on Nov. 13, the President made no mention of U.S. government approval for, or involvement in, these early shipments.

By the time McFarlane finished his rendition of the 1985 events, his account coincided with the Presidents. In describing the HAWK shipment from Israel to Iran. Bud totally altered the facts about the delivery and our role in it, making it appear that we didn't even know about it at the time.

To this day I don't know McEarlame's reasons for these changes. I have mine, and at the time, that was enough, we know meeting, with the meaning that was enough, we know meetings with the reason to the taxws. shipment of November 1985 had interiated the transans. They had been led to expect a long-range system that could shoot down high-altrude Soviet and Iraqui aircraft. But Inxix is a man Iraqui aircraft. But Inxix is a

low-altitude, relatively closes in system.

When the Iranians had confronted us with these problems, we had assured them that we'd had nothing to do with that particular shipment. With the agreement of

problems, we had assured them that we'd had nothing to do with that particular shipment. With the agreement of the Israelis, we presented ourselves as the good guys. "Deal with us from now on," we said. "You can return those HAWKS, and we'll help you get what you need." In November 1986, I still didn't want us to reveal our

In November 1986, 1 still didn't want us to reveal our connection with that 1988 shipment. If the U.S. was per-ceived as having played any role in that transaction, the fearth kidnappers might take our their anger on the hostinges. We also feared that additional hostages might be our our role in the 1988 shipment could harm the Nephew. He might end up being targeted as the fall gay in Tehran, sepecially fit was revealed that shipments to his country.

The Ultimate Cover-Up

Project Democracy became the operator of a seven-plane air force, consisting of three Maules, two C-123s and two C-7s. Later, during the many investigations, one of the few questions that nobody ever bothered to sak was what happened to those planes. It wasn't until much later that I learned the answer.

After the Hasenfus incident, in which one of the C-123s was shot down over Nicaragua, cta Director William Casey told us to shut down the contra supply operation, and all the pilots, maintenance men and mechanics who had been hired went home on commercial flights, leaving the planes and equipment behind.

Later, in an effort to tity up the loose ends from Project Democracy, the counterbook next-producing-operation. First, they had the little air force flow to a remote airfield. Then an enormous crater was dug with buildozers. The planes were pushed into the pil, covered with explosives and bloow up. The remote more pushed more pushed into the pil, covered with explosives and bloow up. The remote more pushed with the pil and cremated. The fire burned for days. When the smoke finally leared, the charred remains were burief, it was probably the only time an entire air force had ever been given a funeral. One might call it the utilizate cover-up.





Saskatchewan to the broad avenues of Manhattan. Nor is our off-road activity confined strictly to roads. Suzuki also builds outboard motors, many of which have been known

to far outlast the boats they were built for. We build generators. Pumps. Even lawnmower engines. And in so doing, the engineers at Suzuki have in turn engineered something equally impressive: Suzuki itself.

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A company built by engineers.

OLIVER L. NORTH

had gone through Israel. By then, I fully expected to lose my job. But in Iran, after all, the word "firing" is often followed by the word "squad."

The Secret Within a Secret

There was still another reason for not disclosing our role in the 1985 shipment from Israel. The original presidential finding that Reagan had signed in December 1985, authorizing the covert shipment of arms to Iran, had been worded in such a way as to make the Iran initiative sound like nothing more than arms for hostages:

"Scope: Hostage Rescue—Middle East. Description: The provision of assistance by the Central Intelligence Agency to private parties in their attempt to obtain the release of Americansheld hostage in the Middle East... As part of these efforts certain foreign materiel and munitions may be provided to the government of Iran, which is taking steps to facilitate the release of the American hostages.

Any disclosure of this finding would have been enormously embarrassing for the Administration, especially since the President continued to insist that the Iran initiative was not about arms for hostages.

On the afternoon of Nov. 21, John Poindexter and I sat in his office and discussed the problem. In January 1986, the President had signed a second finding, which made clear that the Iran initiative was much broader than simply arms for hostages. This second finding spelled out the President's sonals to create an opening to

Bicker, Bicker

Like everyone else in the national-security community, I couldn't help being aware of the continual squability between Secretary of State George Shutz and Secretary of State George Shutz and Secretary of Defense Cappar Wilsheberger. Part of their rivalry was included in the Defense Department tends to be more suspicuous of the Soviet Unions, State, by its very nature, is more conflict was personal, and the hostility inevitably spilled down into the bureaucracles.

Whenever Shultz spoke during meetings of the National Society Planning Group in the White House Situation Room, Weinberger would slouch down and close his syes. When Shultz was finished, Weinberger would usually speak up in disagreement. Sometimes—especially on Central America—he'd talk as if Shultz had never spoken.

They fought constantly—in front of the President, in meetings and through public statements. Sometimes you had the feeling that one of them took a more extreme position just to annoy the other gur. They had apparently been at each other's threat for years—ever since 1970, when whetherery everled for Shatte shorter, when they are whetherery everled for Shatte shorter, these conflict had continued at Becktel, where Shattz was president and whiteberger general coursel.

It was also reflected in their very different personalities. Shaltz was cartainly the more interesting of the two. In public he always tried to portray himself as the castious, behind-the-scenes concilitors, struggling hard to stay out of the limelight. But he struck me as just the opposite: a man who loved the attention of the media and wanted to see an as being in charge of foreign policy. In private meetings he was contentious, a specially with Weinberger and Casty, and he frequently contradicted them in meetings he was contentious, as pecially with Weinberger and Casty, and he frequently contradicted them in meetings he was contentious, as pecially with Weinberger and Casty, and he frequently contradicted them in meetings he was the start of the state of the

Weinberger, on the other hand, was clearly uneasy in front of the media and would often statter and stammer his way through a press conference. He was far more effective when he held forth in the Situation Room, where his perspectives were clear and concise. He knew that for the U.S. to have credibility, we had to have military strength. Shutts, however, didn't seem to care deeply



Weinberger and Shultz never seemed to agree on anything, until Iran

about any particular issue—so long as he got to negotiate it.

Just about the only thing that Shultz and Weinberger
seemed to agree on was that they were both strongly opposed to our dealings with Iran. Their opposition was real
enough, but in Shultz's case, especially, I believe he made
sure that if the Iran initiative failed, he could credibly claim
he had opposed it.

The story came out that Shultz had theratened to resign over the policy. I don't believe it. I'm confident that if he had walked into the Oval Office and said, flat out, "Either this Iran business stops or I'm leaving," the initiative would have been stopped in its track. As much as President Resgan cared about the hostages, after Alexander Haig left, he couldn't afford to lose a second Secretary of State.

Had Shultz and Weinberger been as strongly opposed as they later claimed, it would never have continued. Consider the impact! both men had gone in together to see the President and said. "Hey, boss, we finally found something to agree on. Either this thing stops or we're both out of here." Instead, as pragmatic politicians, they kept their outlines one.

Casey said, "It's going to be okay down there."

I looked puzzled. "You know, Nicawogwa."

Iran, to help bring about an end to the Iran-Iraq war and to recover the hostages. The admiral believed the poorly worded first finding had been effectively superseded by the second finding.

If that first finding was ever revealed, the President would be humiliated. The admiral asked Paul Thompson, his lawyer, to bring in the signed original 1985 finding. Admiral Poindexter then tore it in half and placed it on the coffee table. This was one of the charges on which he was later indicated and convicted. He was pumished by politicians who were out to get the President. What happened to John Poindexter was an outrage.

In changing the chronology and in destroying the superseded finding. Bud and the admiral had taken steps to preserve lives and to protect the President. But there were other matters too that we didn't want anyone to know about. No version of the chronologies mentioned "the secret within a secret." We were trying to avoid the

political explosion that such a revelation would entail and we were certainly right about that.

We also knew the Iranians would be furious if his story came out. They had been taken to the cleaners and charged enough for the weapons to fund the Nicaraguan resistance and other projects as well. If it was revealed that these funds were used to support the comma. the Iranians might well go ballstic. After all, they had been supporting the Sandinistas, While the government of Iran had no great sympathy for communism, it apparentby believed the Sandinistas qualified for that old Middle

Eastern proverb: the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

Meanwhile, back in my office on the night of Nov. 18.

McFarlane asked me. "Did you ever take care of that otherstuff—way back then?"

"Other stuff?"
"What did you do with that?" He gestured toward

my computer. Targed to the maniter was a list of six sixes decament control numbers that Bad had written out and given to memore than a year carlier. The number severer carlier and the sixes of the sixes written to Bud in 1984 and 1985, seeking his approval of the seeking his approval of the Nices of the year of the sixes of the sixes of the sixes of the 1985. Bud shad directed me to remove any reference to my support activities and his knowledge of them. I still shad; I done it

In the summer of 1985, two prominent members of Congress started asking questions about the NSC's involvement in secret support for the Nicaraguan residence. Michael Barnes, chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was a leading

opponent of the President's policies in Central America. Lee Hamilton, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, was less wocal than Barnes but also opposed military aid for the resistance. Both words McFarlane, asking whether the Sax: had indeed been supporting the resistance. Barnes specifically asked about reports of contact between me and the contral leaders.

There are two ways to protect a secret when you're asked about it directly. One is simply not to answer. The other is to like

largued with Bad that we shouldn't answer these letters. This was precisely the kind of situation that Executive privilege was invented for. Bud said my approach was too confrontational. Instead, he invoked his of form of Executive privilege. He lied. In letters and meetings with various Congressmen, he flatly denied then was; in general, and Oliver North, in particular, were involved in these activities.

After Barnes renewed his request to see documents. Bud called me in "Oile," he said, "some of these need to be fixed." Bud explained that the mennes, all of which said and written to Congress and that they were "proble learning to the control of the said and written to Congress and that they were "proble learning." He handed me a piece of paper on which he had written the numbers of six 85x documents. Bud said a should remove all references to my operational role and make the memos consistent with what he had said and written to Congress. But I didn't understand why McFarlane had selected only certain memos when I had written doces that were equally problematical.

"Just take care of it," McFarlane said, showing me a document he had already changed. "And from now on, no more memos with this kind of detail."

Until Bud came to my office on Nov. 18, 1986, I still hadn't got around to revising these papers. With so many

And They Bounce Checks Too

During my appearance before the joint committee, Republican Congressman Honey Hyde of Illinois made a remarkable statement about the hypocrisy of the hearings. Referring to Congress, he said:

"If we don't like a law, Colonel, and you guys ought to learn this at the stc and we than the Administration, you just exemply sourcel." You see, we exampt careful to meet her mo ossis, the Occupational Safety and Health Act. We exempt ourselves from the Elikies in Government Act: no special prosecutors are going after us. We are exempt our own committee of our own brethren that'll take care of that. We are exempt our own committee of our own brethren that'll take care of that. We are exempt our own committee of our own brethren that'll take care of that. We are exempt our own committee of our own brethren that'll take care of that. We are exempt our own committee of our own brethren that the care of the state of the state

"Now, I we can't ignore the law or exempl ourselves from it, we play games with the process. Do you know how we got our gap raise?... You know whith the process. Do you know how we got our gap raise?... You know which will did in the House? We waited ... until 30 days had elapsed, until II was extend, it could not be unwested ... We waited until It was locked, in, and then we got the contil and the unwested ... We waited until It was locked, in, and then we got the ontil And we could seld our constituents, "Eddir't vote for that pay raise." That's the way we do things. So there's much to be learned from whiching us."

OLIVER L. NORTH

other NSC memos that revealed similar information, I just didn't see the point. But when Bud brought it up again, I dutifully started removing references to my operational role and to McFarlane's knowledge of it, just as he told me to.

But it was too late. I was still working on these papers when I was fired. It wasn't until 1989, during my trial, that I finally understood why Bud had selected these six documents. Bud knew they all revealed his detailed awareness and approval of my activities and perhaps, to his way of thinking, the President's as well.

Left Out in the Cold

On Thursday afternoon, Nov. 20. Bill Casey and I walked back to the OEOB together after a meeting and talked for a few minutes in his office. As I started to leave, he said, "It's going to be

O.K. down there."

I gave him a puzzled look.

"You know, Nicawogwa."
(Hen over could pronounce the name of the country that wasalways on his mind: at meetings people would go out of their way to try to get him to say it.).
Casey went on, "You did a good job. We're back in"—be was referring to Congress's approval of \$100 million in aid to the resistance—"but you kept them going."

This turned out to be the last real conversation we ever had. Casey died on May 6, 1987.

In closed-session testimony before the House Intelligence Committee, Casey claimed he had no knowledge of the 1985 HAWK shipment until January

1986. But he pointedly suggested that the members "might be fascinated to know what Oliver North had been doing operationally to help the Nicaraguan resistance." In doing so, Casey was fulfilling a warning he had given North early on: he would sacrifice him if it meant saving the rest of the Administration. The committee didn't seem interested.

Administration. The commune audit resem interessed. But aides to Attorney General Ed Meese, who launched his own investigation that same week, were to become very much interested. On Saturday, Nov. 22, William Bradford Reynolds and John Richardson from Justice came to North's office, when the helped them sort through and copy his files, while he went about his own business—including shredding some documents.

The following afternoon. Sunday, I went to Ed Meese's office in the Justice Department shortly after 2. Ed opened the meeting by asking me to try to recall everything that had happened on the Iran initiative. "Don't worry about trying to protect the President or anyone else," he said. "Just tell me the store."

It may sound strange in view of what happened next, but the tone of our discussion was friendly and casual. I didn't expect this meeting to be especially dramatic. I thought we were still trying to put the best face on what happened—to reveal enough to satisfy Congress and the press but not so much as to endanger the hostages.

About an hour into the meeting, Meese said, "Is there anything else that can jump up and bite the President on the ass?"

"Not that I can think of," I replied.

"How about this?" he said, handing me a nine-page document. It was an April 1986 memo from me to Admiral Poindexter detailing a planned arms shipment to Iran and specifically mentioning \$12 million in residuals from the arms sales that would go to the Nicaraguan resistance.

Oh, shit, I thought.

This was precisely the kind of document I had shredded. Or so I thought.

"Where did this come from?" I asked.

"That's not important," said Meese. "Did this

'No, that particular shipment never took place," I said. This was true, but the

"Well, did anything like this ever take place?"

I paused. This was the secret within a secret that was never supposed to be revealed. But there was no way I was going to lie to Ed Meese. Are what seemed like an eternity, I said yes.

The earth didn't shake.
The walls didn't come crashing down. Nobody said, "Get out the handcuffs! This man has violated the Boland amendment!"

Ed Meese was certainly interested but gave no hint of what was to come just two days later at the Nov. 25 press conference. The meeting ended shortly before 6 p.m. As Meese

shortly before 6 p.m. As Meese was leaving, I expressed concern about the safety of the hostages. "I certainly hope this won't be made public," I said, Famous last words.

By the summer of 1987, the White House was willing to give up just about anyone or anything that would permit the upper echelons of the Administration to survive—even allowing the actions of those who had served the Administration to be criminalized.

When I arrived at the Senate Caucus, Room to begin wtestimony on July 7, 1987, thesenewas alst more raucous than I expected after watching the Iran-contral hearings on IV for sees meeks. Directly in front of me, photographers were shooting like crazy. Just beyond the tographers were shooting like crazy. Just beyond the 25 members of the Iran-curing committee and their innumerable staff. The room reminded me of a miniature Colosseum when the linns were about to be released.

I was well aware that some committee members were already convinced I was the villain. That was fine, because I wasn't too crazy about some of them either. To me, many Senators. Congressmen and even their staff members were people of privilege who had shamelessly abandoned the Nicaraguan resistance and left the convince of the property of the prope



What happened to Poindexter, says North, "was an outrage"

one.

JEB with a

like any other dinner party.

There were people I didn't know. People I didn't want to know. And people I knew that I wish I didn't know.

It just doesn't get any better than

Rebecca, the hostess, spotted me from the far end of the living room. A smile landed on her face, and she started to zoom toward me like a vacuum cleaner.

"Thanks for coming Gary let me take your coat," she recited.

"I wouldn't miss it for the world," I

In all honesty, though, I would

If Rebecca's dinner party were just flying through space somewhere, and the world happened to be passing by, make no mistake. I would jump onto it.

The living room was well-appointed. On one wall, there were bookshelves. All the books looked the same. I wondered if I pulled out the right one, whether it would swing the bookease and myself into a completely different room.

In an effort to mingle, I walked over to a couple that looked like they could use some company. I immoduced myself. We talked about what I did. What they did.

And it was over

A clean break.

Next came the young woman I on the subway last week. She old friend from college, and

ing she wouldn't see me that hoped on thee ubuy. But before I could de thing about it, we were a conversation about the days. I actually didn't mind it, at it was identical to the conversation we had previously.

It was a renin.

After it was over, she smiled, and said "It was nice running into you Gary, maybe I'll see you on the subway again."

I told her I wasn't ready to make that kind of commitment.

Perhaps what bothered me most about Rebecca's dinner party, though, was Burt's nose.

It wan't that it was the size of an arium.

I could live with the fact that it swooped up most of the air condition-

ng in the room.

In that really got to me was all the guests had to duck every

Burt turned his head.

It was especially inconvenient for the hired waiters serving hors d'oeuvres.

They thought it would be an easy way to make a buck, not a hazardous

All the couch seating was taken always is at these dinner parties. The people sitting on the couch looked like they arrived extra early, and slept outside in hopes of getting the very best tickets.

To say they weren't about to get up goes without saying.

One guy was sitting between two women. Bobbing his head in an I'mthe-most-handsome-gameshow-hostthat-ever-lived kind of way.

He was the kind of man that you'd expect to see walking through heaven someday with a floor

But for now, he spot I wouldn't min

It would be great, in souden, he put his arms the women, and slid right off the plastic that was covering the couch and onto the floor.

Or if someone pressed a button that hoisted him up toward the ceiling in a net. To see him flapping around like a caught fish would be nothing less than splendid.

splendid.

It was time for dinner to be served.

hen the hostess.

Ity parted the doors

om, so that everyone

As though it were the Red Sea.

While everyone filtered into the room, someone tugged my hand from behind.

It was Penelope Parker.

An art director I used to work with at an advertising agency. She looked very attractive. Long flowing dark hair, a tall slender body.

Only one thing bothered me about her brilliant neves. To nothing bound the re-

Penelope could do anything she put her writer's mind to.

That's how she made it anywhere.
"Gary, fancy meeting you here,"
she said opportunistically.

"Well, if it isn't Penelope Parker," I stated, wishing it weren't.

From that moment on, I knew who I'd be spending the rest of the dinner party with. She always had a thing for me.

We sat next to each other at the table.

She was capable of going on about

nothing in particular quite well.

According to her, I would imagine,

I never saw myself as being above the law, nor

did I ever intend to do anything illegal.

And now they wanted to humiliate me for doing what they should have done!

Brendan Sullivan had agreed that before I testified publicly the committee could ask me one question in private. Their most burning question was whether I had told the President about the "diversion," I explained that, while I had never discussed it with him, I had always assumed that he was aware of what I was doing and had. through my superiors, approved it.

The committee's infatuation with the diversion distracted attention from many other things that the President and his Administration had done to support the contras during the Boland prohibitions. And it kept attention focused on me, which appeared to be just what the committee and the Administration wanted. It left John Poindexter and me out in the cold.

The Smoking Gun?

After full-scale inquiries by a presidential commission, u joint committee of Congress, the office of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh and the press, North was eventually brought to trial on 12 counts. When he was indicted, he immediately resigned from the Marine Corps, though "it had been my identity every day for close to 20 years, and I had expected it would continue to be for another 10 or 15.

North believes that as part of the White House strategy of protecting the President by diverting blame for Iran-contra from him, "anonymous sources made a concerted effort to portray me as an unreliable renegade, and the press lapped it up, never stopping to ask how I could possibly have done all this on my own." Even the special prosecutor's office apparently failed to pursue evidence that North believes might have led to a wider investigation.

By far the most interesting piece of evidence that Brendan didn't use was what we called the "smoking gun in the closet" tape. (The title comes from a deliciously mixed metaphor that appears in the first line of the transcript.) This tape was supposed to be nothing more than a routinely recorded telephone conversation between employees in two different Manhattan offices of New York's Citibank on June 17, 1987, about three weeks before I testified at the congressional hearings. But in a coincidence almost too bizarre to believe, leaking through the conversation between the two bank employees was a second dialogue between two men on the subject of the Iran-contra hearings. From their discussion, it's clear that one of these men had appeared before the congressional committee.

The bank gave the tape to the FBI, and the following summer, Barry Simon, a member of my legal team, found it in a pile of potential evidence that was provided to us by the prosecution. Although most of the conversation between the two men was remarkably clear, we were never able to determine who they were. But there was no doubt as to what they were discussing:

A: Yeah, there's a smoking gun in the closet, Reagan

B: Listen.

A: I told the committee. There was no-I told the committee there was-I had nothing to do with those papers. Ollie North knows about it. Reagan knows . . . Reagan knows about it

B: Listen, he ain't testifying,

A: . . . and the . . . and the other, the other people involved do know about that.

B: (Unintelligible.)

4: Well, you have to go to the committee. B: [Unintelligible] the committee.

A: You have to go to the committee, not me.

B: Listen. A: Somebody's got to bring

this up B: [Unintelligible.]

A: I think somebody ought to go: somebody's got to be responsible for this.

B: [Unintelligible.]

A: Reagan . . . Reagan knows. Reagan has all the memos. B: He's got all the memos? I

thought he tore all that stuff up. A: No. He's got all the

memos, and there are copies. B: Didn't you burn that stuff?

A: No. B: Oh, jeez. I warned you about that.

A: Nobody ... no ... B: It's going to hit the papers like crazy.

(continued on page 66)

With Wings as Eagles"

On July 7, 1987, the first morning of my testimony before the joint congressional committee, an elderly woman I had never seen before handed me a little card. During those days, my lawyers wouldn't allow me to read anything except specific materials relating to the inquisition, and Brendan Sullivan, my lawyer, snatched the card from my hand even before I looked at it.

By the time we walked into the hearing room, I had forgotten about it. But just before we sat down, Brendan put the card in front of me. Every time we stood up to leave during a recess, he picked it up and took it with him, and every time we

returned, he put it back. Imprinted on the card was a biblical verse: They that wait upon the Lord

shall renew their strength;

They shall mount up with wings as eagles. They shall run and not be weary.

They shall walk, but not faint. -Isalah 40:31

As I went through an extraordinary experience, that card was in front of me the whole time.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO

From the pages of the Little, Brown book

The Meaning of Life

by David Friend and the Editors of



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André Da Miano Birth, First Photograph in First Issue of LIFE Magazine

(Cover)
Leonard Freed
HARLEM SUMMER DAY



Vsevolod Tarasevich

he mouning of life is listening to Pavarotti, feeling the sun on your face, drinking a bottle of wine, and then auther. The meaning of life is baving a safe and beathty society, a happy family life, good health, so wing wife, wock that you like, smelling the smell of a nive ear and the ocean art, being label to life in the label seek. The label is the label of the label of the thing of the label of the la

Carmine Pucci

Ruley Sumner died the other day, full of years (eighty plus) and wisdom (dairy farmer, cabinetmaker, cabinetmaker, churchgoer, member of the loeal road crew, dowser). When we laid him in the ground there were some tears, but there was also a lot of gratitude for the joy he had spread around the folk of Heath, MA 01346. Ralph's death made me think about my life.

I believe we are placed here to be companions - a wonderful word that comes from cum panis ("with bread"). We are here to share bread with one another so that everyone has enough, no one has too much and our social order achieves this goal with maximal freedom and minimal coercion. There are many names for such sharing: utopia, the beloved community, the Kingdom of God, the communion of saints. And while the goal is too vast to be realized solely on this planet, it is still our task to create foretastes of it on this planet-living glimpses of what life is meant to be, which include art and music and poetry and shared laughter and pienies and politics and moral outrage and special privileges for children only and wonder and humor and endless love. to counterbalance the otherwise immobilizing realities of tyrants, starving children, death camps and just plain greed.

greed. But I expect Ralph Sumner now sees it

more clearly than I do. Robert McAfee Brown,

Presbyterian minister and educator, is a professor of theology and ethics

In the past few decodes, the United States and the Soviet Union have accomplished something that—unless we destroy courselves first—will be remembered a thomas dyears from now the first close-up exploration of decreas of other works. Together we have found more other than to magnificent, matractive and of the contractive that the past of the states o

far as we know, the only unhabited planet. We human are one among millions of separate species who live in a world burgeoning, overflowing with life. And yet, most species that ever were are no more. After flourishing for one hundred fifty million years, the dissosaurs became extinct. Every last one. No species is garanteed its tenure on this planet. And humans, the first beings to desiye the means for their own destruction, have been here for only several million years.

We are rare and precious because we are alive, because we can think. We are privileged to influence and perhaps control our future. We have an obligation to fight for life on Earth-not just for ourselves but for all those, humans and others, who came before us and to whom we are beholden, and for all those who, if we are wise enough, will come after. There is no cause more urgent than to strive to eliminate on a global basis the growing threats of nuclear war, environmental catastrophe, economic collapse and mass starvation These problems were created by humans and can be solved by humans. No social convention, no political system, no e hypothesis, no religious dogma is more important

The hard truth seems to be this We live in a vast and seasone universe; in which, daily, suns are made and worlds destroyed, taking, suns are made and worlds destroyed, where humanity eligate to an observe index of rode. The significance of our lives and our fragile reads indexings from our own without and ourage. We are the custodians of life's meaning. We would prefer it to be otherwise, of course, but there is no cumpelling videos for a coming Parent who will care for as and save use from ourselves. It is up to us.

Carl Sagan,

Pulitzer Prize-winning author and professor of astronomy and space sciences, writes about space exploration and the long-term effects of nuclear war.

peient religion and modern eience agree: We are here to give praise. Or, to slightly tip the expression, to pay attention. Without us, the physicists who have embraced the anthropic principle tell us, the universe would be unwitnessed, and in a sense not there at all. It exists, incredibly, because of us. This formulation (knowing what we know of the universe's extent) is more incredible, to our sense of things, than the Old Testament situation of a God willing to suffer, coddle, instruct and even (in the Book of Job) to debate men, in order to realize the meager benefit of worship, of praise for His Creation. What we certainly have is our instinctive intellectual enriosity about the universe from the quasars down to the quarks, our delight and wonder at existence itself, and an occasional surge of sheer blind gratitude for being here.

John Updike,

novelist, poet and short-story writer, is the author of Rabbit, Run

Fare not here to predict the future but to change; if for the good. We are not here as helpless creatures but as soon and daughters of Adam—eagable of affecting our own fate. We are not here award decisions but to make hard choices between good and evil by using a distribution of the control of the contro

Oliver North.

former National Security Council aide to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, was the key figure in the Iran-contra scandal.

he only real meaning in life can be found in a good man. And maybe Paris.

Preferably the two together.

Marilyn vos Savant,

columnist and author, has the world's highest LQ (230)

NTRODUCING THE NEW MAZDA 929. THE FIRST LUXURY SEDAN THAT DOESN'T DEPEND ENTIRELY ON LUXURY TO MAKE YOU FEEL GOOD. Why should the

rewards of owning a fine automobile be restricted to the purely physical? It was this unconventional thinking that ultimately led to the new Mazda 929. A luxury sedan conceived not by corporate committee but by a fine artist. Resulting in aesthetics that may strike a somewhat deeper chord in you than cars normally do. 240- And to help satisfy your desire for environmental responsibility, we've eliminated 70% of our manufacturing waste. Further distinguishing the new 929 from automobiles that rely on extravagance as their sole appeal. 240- Of course, you can also savor the eager yet smooth acceleration



of its 24-valve V6 engine, the security of standard air bags for both driver and passenger and the supple contours of its

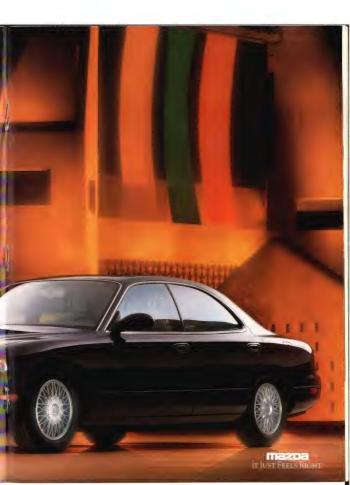
leather-trimmed upholstery." & After all, if the new Mazda 929 didn't offer the prerequisites of uncommon comfort and performance, it not only wouldn't be a

luxury sedan. It wouldn't be a Mazda.

THE MAZDA 929

The only car in its class with dual air bags standard. ARS JOD, 24-vulve Vengine. Multi-fink haspension. "Available leather-trimmed upholitery. First car with available solerpowered ventilation system. 36-month/50,000-mile limited warranty. Nodeductible, "bumper-to-bumper" protection. See your dealer for details. For a free brochure on the new 399 or any new Mazda, call 1-800-639-1000.

"Seats upholstered in leather except for back side of front seats, bottom cushion side panels, and other minor areas. C. 1991 Maala Motor of America life.







hy are we born was a really hard paper to write. At first for a long time I couldn't think of anything but now! Units. In a something to say. I think 600 made us each born for a different reason. He doesn't want us to due he same things so that's why he makes us all so different. If God gives you as great voice maybe he wants you to sing. Or else if tied wants of family that lives on a farm so you get used family that lives on a farm so you get used them. And maple if God make you grow to be? feet tall maybe he wants you to play for the Lakerson the Celties.

When my friend Kim died from her cansur I asked my Mom if God was going to make Kim die when she was only 6 why did he make her born at all. But my Mom said even thogh she was only 6 she changed people's lifes. What that means is like her brother or sister could be the siontist that discovers the cure for cansur and they decided to do that because of Kim. And like me too. I used to wonder why did God pick on me and give me cansur. Maybe it was because he wanted me to be a dr. who takes care of kids with cansur so when they say "Dr Jason, Sometimes I get so seared I'm going to die" or "you don't know how weird it is to be the only bald kid in your whole school" I can say "Oh yes I do. When I was a little boy I had cansur too. And look at all my hair now. Someday your hair will grow back too."

Jason Gaes.

twelve-year old cancer victim, wrote My Book for Kids with Cansur

Harry Benson

TOO POOR TO GO ON SCHOOL TRIP, BOY FISHES THE DAY AFTER CLASSMATES PERISH IN PLANE CRASH

From the pages of the Little, Brown book

The pages of the Little, Brown book

The pages of the Price of Life by David Friend and the critics of Life to the Price of Life to the



Challenger 6, 41 G Space Shuttle Crew/NASA Cumulonimbus Clouds over Central Niceria

ife's meaning is a mystery. I'm not one given to the ological musings, but I acknowledge these mysteries. In my compensation, the dependence of the ological musings, but I fife, the profound root of my being—perhaps coming from the ological mysteries in my compensation, and the ological mysteries in order to carry for fuver that we are here in order to carry for fuver that we are here under the ological mysteries when the mysteries when the mysteries when the old mysteries when the old mysteries when the mysteries are moved to purposes begund surselves. I my south.

Betty Friedan,

writer, sparked the American feminist movement with The Feminine Mystique

he condition of the world is a great manifestation of God. As scientists understand more and more about the interdependence not only of hirsy, things but of rocks, rivers—the whole of the univers—I am I first may that I, to, am a part of this termendous animade. Not only an I apart of the pasting network, but I am an indispensable part. It is not only the object that environmentalists shout from the rowforps, Every I vising creature is an essential part of the whole.

All creatures have special attributes. Our particular attribute is the ability to reason. With reason we are enabled to reast independently from our environment. What

are we supposed to dof
Our surroundings are awesome. We see
about us majestic mountains, the perfection
of a tiny mouse, a newborn baby, a flower,
the colors of a seashell. Each creature is
most fully that which it is created to be, an

almost incredible reflection of the infinite, the invisible, the indefinable. All women and men participate in that reflected glory.

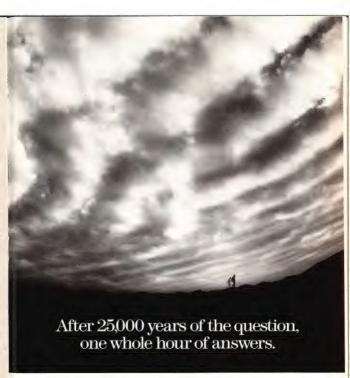
We believe that we are in fact the image often Creator. Our response must be to live up to that amazing potential—to give God glory by reflecting His beauty and His low. That is why we are here and that is the purpose of our lives. In that response we enter most fully into relationships with God, our fellow men and women, and we are in harmony with all creation.

Desmond Tutu,

South African civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner is the Anglican Archbishop of Capetown.

From the pages of the Little, Brown book

by David Friend and the editors



What is the meaning of life? It's probably the

most profound question ever asked. Even if you've never wondered yourself, wedid. See what happens when this question is put to hundreds of people from all walks of life. Scientists, statesmen, philosophers, photographers, athletes. and artists. It's a fascinating exploration of

human feelings. Some are inspiring. Some are shocking, Just like life itself. The question will be around forever, but the answers to it are coming soon. Mazda presents The Meaning of Life. Only on CBS.



LIT MAGAZINE TV SPECIAL 10 PM FRIDAY DECEMBER 27 ON CBS (

Based on the book The Meaning Of Life, created by David Friend and the editors of \$22 C 1991 Mazda Motor of America, In-

OLIVER L. NORTH

A: Nobody told me to. B: [Unintelligible.]

A: [Unintelligible.] No.

B: What about your secretary? She couldn't get the stuff copied?

4: Not all of it.

B: [Unintelligible] about Reagan [unintelligible]. A: Well . . . I'm getting out of this thing, and if some-

body comes to me. I'm blowing the cover. B: I'll tell you, if I go down, I'm taking you with me.

A: Well, me too.

B: You and your . . . secretary . . . [unintelligible]. A: I'd better call you back. I think we're tapped.

B: I think so A: All right, 'Bye

When Barry first heard the tape during preparations for the trial, he was flabbergasted. "Listen to this!" he called out, and we all gathered to hear it. Barry played it over and over to see

if I could identify the voices. Was one of the men Don Regan? It just didn't sound like him. Regan would have come across as more arrogant: these men were clearly anxious. My guess was one of them was Ed Hickey, head of the President's military office, who has since died. Hickey was interviewed around this time by the committee and had been involved, with me, in a hostagerescue attempt by the Drug Enforcement Administration, funded with profits from the Iran arms sale

But that's just a guess. Whoever these men were, it was clear that somebody was in possession of important documents, some of which had been destroyed. But what? And how exactly did all this fit into the Iran-contra

When I was unable to identify the voices, Brendan and Barry took the tape to the White House. On July 28, 1988, they met there with Arthur B. Culvahouse, the President's counsel, and one of his aides. As Barry described it later. Culvahouse blanched when he heard the tape, and his aide appeared shaken. Both men denied any knowledge of it, and as far as they knew, no other government agency had been asked about it either. And yet the special prosecutors had received this tape months earlier.

Well, said Brendan, would you help us get to the bottom of this and let us interview the President about it? Two months later, the answer came back no.

Apparently, the special prosecutor's zeal in pursuing John Poindexter and me did not extend to finding out who was on that tape or what documents they were discussing. Nobody at the White House, the FBI or the special prosecutor's office was interested in helping us. And it's safe to assume that nobody on the congressional committee heard this

tape either. If they had, it surely would have leaked, Without being able to identify the voices, we were

not able to use the tape in court. The special prosecutor might never have given it to us, except that he was required to do so under the rules of evidence. But neither they, the FBI nor the White House ever revealed its existence

Keeping Faith

North was eventually acquitted of nine counts but found guilty on three, including helping to obstruct Congress and tampering with documents. But on Sept. 16, 1991, Walsh asked Federal Judge Gerhard Gesell to drop all charges because he would be unable to show that testimony in North's trial had not been prejudicially tainted by the testimony he gave under immunity to the congressional Irancontra committee. "It was finally

over," writes North.

Lawyer Sullivan, concurs North, "was not a potted plant"

According to the conventional wisdom, Iran-contra occurred because a small group of misfits and renegades, working out of the White House basement, rose above the law and carried out their own foreign policy, whereupon their superiors were shocked-shocked-to learn what they had done.

It makes for a good story, but that's not what happened.

I never saw myself as being above the law, nor did I ever intend to do anything illegal. I have always believed, and still do, that the Boland amendments did not bar the National Security Council from supporting the contras. Even the most stringent of the amendments contained loopholes that we used to ensure that the Nicaraguan resistance would not be abandoned

From 1984 on, I did my best to keep faith with two groups that I cared about deeply, and whose fate President Reagan had put at the top of his agenda: our hostages in Lebanon and the contras. The Iran initiative ended in failure, but that's not to say it wasn't worth trying. Had we succeeded, not only would all the hostages have come home, but we would have opened a new relationship with a country that is still important to our national security

Our Nicaraguan initiative was more straightforward and for me, at least, presented no great moral quandary. Until Congress resumed its funding for the contras, we fulfilled the mission assigned by the President: to keep the resistance alive. Our goal was to enable the contras to exert the kind of pressure on the Sandinistas that could ultimately lead to a free and democratic Nicaragua. Early in 1990, our efforts were vindicated when a coalition of anti-Sandinista groups scored a decisive electoral victory over Daniel Ortega and the Sandinistas.



At the apex of the scandal, Lieut. Colonel North is sworn in at the Iran-contra hearings

Finally unshackled by the special prosecutor, unburdened of bitterness,

the central figure in the Iran-contra scandal returns as

The Unsinkable Ollie North

By BARRETT SEAMAN

he tradecraft was vintage North. Once a week, usually a Monday, from June 1990 to last August, writer William Novak would fly from Boston to Washington's Dulles International, where he would take a ground-floor room at the airport Marriott Hotel, North, traveling as "Mr. Smith," would arrive separately by car, park out back and slip into Novak's room through the back door. Using a Toshiba laptop computer, the pair would then work through the day and into the evening on a document that would remain secret until barely a week before it was published. When room service delivered their evening meals. North, ever clandestine, would hide in the bathroom.

The idea of keeping the Smith Project top secret was shared by the New York publisher HarperCollins, largely for the promotional value: by North's lawyers, who were concerned that research for the book might be subpoenaed by prosecutors, and by North himself, who remains incorrigibly, unabashedly enamored of clouk- and-dagegr operations. The notorious Colonel North, known by a variety of code names and aliasessines hie days in Vietnam (Bluc, Steelhammer and Mr. Goode, among them), would later laught that his publisher "did a heliuva lot better at keeping secrets than the U.S. government."

The time for keeping-secrets will never completely pass for Oliver North. He was careful to have his book vetted by the appropriate federal agencies and did not object to the few exclusions sought by the Pentagon, c.i.a and Ns.C. most of them potential clues to the identity of intelligence sources and methods. But the time for bitind lovality by past.

In Under Fire, North certainly fires back at those who turned on him during the Iran-contra battle. His disdain for Congress, the press and the special prosecutor's office is almost palpable. He ends his

thank-yous to those who helped him produce the book with this curt reference to the special prosecutor: "Larry Walsh was no help at all." George Shultz is blistered for what North sees as a calculated distancing of himself from policies only after their failure was assured. His disillusionment with many he had thought to be comrades in the global war against terrorism and communism is detailed. He pieces together the disparate shards of evidence that accumulated over the five years since the scandal broke into a compelling mosaic that declares, in effect, "Yes, you dummy, of course Ronald Reagan knew what was going on! How could he not?"

There are those who will say North has been cunningly selective in his reconstruction. Bill Casey, dead and gone, will never be able to refute North's detailed account of his management of Iran-counts's complexities, while sitting officials like George Bush and Robert Gates get what amounts to a free pass. North would challenge that. While

Those who blame him for the foreign policy disaster that nearly brought

down the Reagan Presidency will not likely change their minds.

phone records revealed hundreds of contacts between his office and the CtA director's, he would argue, Bush and Gates got off clean because he, North, had no direct knowledge of any incriminating involvement they might have had. Devoid of any other evidence, that judgment will probably prevail.

Some selectivity is inevitable. But Under Fire is not a mere self-serving, fingerpointing exercise, as other personal accounts of the scandal have been. Irancontra trivia buffs may have a tough time finding serious flaws in this text. North is even more open about his own role than he

posed to me. I turned it down," says the writer. "I expected he was not only rigid but perhaps even an extremist to boot." But Novak was won over almost immediately, "Insead of the automaton I had anticipated," he says. North turned out to be "warm, extremely bright, well read, spon-

taneous and often very funny."
North has been largely out of sight, out of mind since the heyday of the Iran-contra hearings. And there will be legions who will deery his return to the national stage. Those who blame him for the foreign policy disaster that nearly brought down the

48 on Oct. 7. North went to regain his citizenship by registering to wote in Virginia. The form demanded to know if he hald seen been convicted of a felony. North had to call his lawyer and now close friend. Hendan sullinan, to ask how he should reply. Sullivan advised his client to mark an. The Mairce Corps, from which North fell compelled to retrie when he was indicated, has not seen any other parties of the control documents that road. The United States: Offere L. North a contradiction of everything he had contradiction of everything the all contradiction of corptial was over thought about himself, the ordeal was over, just as self-than ever happened.

But it did happen, and it both tempered and scarred North. During the ordeal, he built around himself a defense mechanism-literally and figuratively. Sullivan and his team of lawyers at Williams & Connolly protected North from the outside world and instilled in him an intellectual discipline that comfortably matched his Marine Corps habits. His old Naval Academy classmates started a defense fund, a trust that has managed through contributions from around the country to pay for most of the millions in legal and security bills that have piled up since 1986.

is circle tightened to his family, his lawyers and those who supported him and his causes—among them the many denizers of the grass-roots right who gave money to the contras in the swash-buckling days of Richard Secord and Spitz Channell.

Now there was a new element to their affinity for North. "Ollie is popular among people who see him as a guy who got slammed by Big Government." says Mark Merritt, an official at the Freedom Alliance. North's not-for-profit foundation that espouses "traditional American values" and performs such good deeds as shipping \$2.7 million worth of gift packages to Desert Storm troops last year. The Freedom Alliance also spreads the political gospel through a monthly newsletter and daily radio broadcasts by Ollie that are syndicated to some 300 stations around the country. In addition, North's North American Partnership does business on his and wife Betsy's behalf, taking in the proceeds of his book, contributions of friends and sympathizers, speaking fees (up to \$25,000), and earnings from a weekly column that reaches more than a dozen newspapers ranging from the Dallas Times-Herald to the Crockett Times of Alamo, Tenn.

Ollie's latest commercial enterprise, unlike the famous one run by Secord and Hakim, is straightforward and aboveboard.



North under siege: "They were even there on Christmas"

was in the famous hearings or in his trial. but without the chin-jutting defiance he displayed before the Joint Committee in 1987. He admits to misleading members of Congress back in 1986, when Lee Hamilton of Indiana and others came to the White House to find out whether North was violating the Boland amendments by directly supporting the Nicaraguan resistance. He admits he should have realized, as he now reluctantly does, that the arms-for-hostages enterprise was a foolhardy and counterproductive policy. He describes in poignant detail the dark depression he endured in 1974-75 when his wife left him. leading him to cheek into the psychiatric unit of the Bethesda Naval hospital.

Co-conspirator Novak, who previously wrote autobiographies with Lee Iacocca. Tip O'Neill. Nancy Reagan and Sydney Biddle Barrows, the Mayllower Madam, admits that he initially resisted working with North, "When this book was first pro-

Reagan presidency, and those who couldn't abide either Reagan or the contrus, will probably not change their mind, that the Oille North who returns is in intruguing blend of the old and the new truguing blend of the old and the new truguing blend of the old and the new truguing blend of the old and the new creaking partiriotism: the deep ned apparently genuine religiosity that regular presently genuine religiosity that regular peeds out from under the sleeve; the inescapable, occasionally overbearing, selfconfidence, that the new Oiles salts softers at the edges, older, a bits useer sleeves the inintervents. Feed and the first time in frevents. Feed in the first time in frevents. Feed in the results of the control of the con

When he learned in mid-September that Lawrence Walsh had reluctantly but finally dropped his case. North told Jim Dobson, an old friend and counselor, "It was as if I'd been swimming across a fast-moving stream with a big millstone tied to me—and suddenly someone came along and cut the rope. I can breathe again,"

Earlier this month, just after he turned

In retrospect, he realizes that the simple life of a career Marine left him

ill-prepared to "wake up and find myself in Machiavelli's palace."

Guardian Technologies International, of which North Schariman, mundicurves bulletproof vests made from Spectra, a lightweight fiber that North touts as a generation beyond Kevlar. Guardian did about the properties of the U.S. and overseas. North is aiming to double that this year, using innovative marketing tools like Armor Overnight, which guarantees delivcyte by moon the next day for those who fax their vest size and Visa account number, the properties of the properties west for rollice douse.

The new North, much like the following as a natural salesman. He buttonholes police chiefs along the after-dinner speaking circuit, hawking his product as energetically as he does his political views. If Oille had gone into the insurance business, he surely would have been named to the Millón Dollar Club or the President's Circle his first month out.

ut instead of going into insurance. North became a Marine—and by his own appraisal as well as others', "a damned good one." From there he went to the National Security Council, where he performed audacious deeds of derring can-do. Hatd Ollie North not existed. Fom Clancy would surely have invented him.

With one big difference: a Clane, character would probably not have got into the messes North did in the Reagant White House. Nort would be have faced the dismal choices between "had and worse" that North confront-ed, instead of the straightforward "right and wrong" choices he expected out of life. In retrospect, he tells friends he realizes that the simple life of a career Marine left him ill-prepared to "wake up

The judicial process, the hearings, the hounding by the press, his trial and conviction—a siege relieved only five weeks ago by his "exoneration"—placed heavy burdens on North and his family, Still, he found himself better prepared than many of his fellow defendants. "I had enormous resources that these other people did not have." North has still "Spiritual resources, himself resources, legal resources, physical resources—I was in dammed good shape when I started this process."

Despite the signals. North believed well into that process that truth was the sole object of the Iran-contra probe. 'I had it all wrong,' he confided to a friend recently. 'I



North on the hustings in Virginia: for the first time in five years, free

thought the purpose was to get to the bottom of all this."

Neither the hearings nor the subsequent trials have get to the bottom of Iran-comm. And North's "moking gan in the close!" growth a support of Reagan's golf or innecence the properties of Reagan's golf or innecence the control of the support of t

North avoids saying so directly in the book, but his remails to others suggest that he probably would never have par-sued this trail tending to Reagan were it not for the things Reagan has said—and not said—about him since, he was fired, and the said of the

taken the rap for Poindexter and stood up for what he believed in. "Instead." North complained recently, "he leaves as a legacy this videotage of a doddering old man. It's unbelievable!" Reagan, traveling abroad last week, was "unavailable for comment!" on North's allegations, according to a spokesperson for the former President.

Now the rehabilitated North is back taking his own stand. In southwestern Virginia last week, where he stumped for G.O.P. candidates for state offices, he charmed crowds with a mixture of self-deprecating humor, mother-earding self-deprecating humor, mother-earding sentimentality and a keen ear for local issues. He is as natural a politician as he is a salesman, instinctively playing to his audiences and parrying the protests of the liberal activists who offen shows the form of the same of the

While the stock portion of his speeches touts predictable right-wing values, some of the specifies do not fit the cooleie-enter conservative label. North would set limits on use of the death penalty promote public schools and enact a 24-hour delay on gun purchases. But when asked whether he will run for office—Republicans in both Virginia and North

Carolina are woung him—the Cathore like a shandard answer. "I'm running for hus-band and father first, "he'll says." There are five votes in the family, and I haven't got them wrapped up yet." Yet when pressed by friends or party solicious. North will more seriously say that first he wants to get his various energiess up and running and his life book in order. When pressed for the work of the wants of the

"It'll take me a while to recover from that," he confessed to someone recently. But probably not that long. MIDDLE EAST

Let the Game Begin

A peace conference has been convened, but old antagonisms and new accusations could turn it into a diplomatic marathon-or a bust

By LISA BEYER JERUSALEM

y Washington's reckoning, the reply card was long overdue. But finally last week the Palestinians put their R.S.V.P. in writing. Yes. they would attend the Middle East peace conference organized by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, the first full-scale meeting between Israel and the Arabs in almost two decades. That cleared the way for a joint U.S.-Soviet announcement that Presidents Bush and Gorbachev would both attend the opening of the much anticipated parley next week in Madrid. They had already sent out formal invitations to the parties, who had all, more or less, said yes. Declared a plainly pleased Baker: "This is an important day.

Officials at the White House were even more upheat. George Bush plans to attend the conference for one day, give an opening speech, then depart on other business-political business in Houston, where he will kick off his re-election campaign. But with the flying trip to Madrid, he can be seen as a catalyst for the process if negotiations succeed or, if they fail, as a man who gave peace his best shot. "This is a win-win situation," says a senior official,

Baker is unlikely to stick with the talks for more than a few days. Once the dramatic photo ops are over, the substantive negotiations are likely to be long, difficult and unpredictable. The negotiators will be hampered by a lack of trust and deeply tangled issues. The talks could become a great diplomatic marathon, stretching like the SALT and START negotiations, into years and decades. That may even be the optimistic view. Pessimists suggest that, since the subject is the Middle East, the whole conference

could easily blow up Invitations had hardly gone out before the conference planners were blindsided by an electrifying accusation of Israeli bad faith. In a book published this week (see following story), investigative reporter Seymour Hersh says he was told that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir shared U.S. nuclear secrets with the Soviet Union. According to two sources, Hersh writes, Shamir supplied Moscow with information on the targeting of American strategic missiles, which he received from Israel's

A farfetched charge like that is almost impossible to verify. If it were true, very few officials in any government would know it, and most of those who did would consider it their duty to cover up, obfuscate and, if necessary, lie. Nevertheless, whether the tale is true or not, many people might choose to believe it. The charges and countercharges to follow could rain on the Madrid conference.

There were other things to straighten out as well. The Palestinians handed Baker a tentative list of their delegates, who will attend the conference jointly with representatives from Jordan. In a bow to Palestinian sensitivity about the implicit Israeli veto over their delegation, Baker refused to share the list with Shamir-or so he said.

spy in Washington, Jonathan Pollard. was a telling sign that Shamir had made it clear Israel would go.

The Palestinians' participation had been even more iffy. In the end it was their relative weakness that brought them around. For a time it had looked possible, even probable, that Arab-Israeli talks would take place without them. That raised the specter of the other Arab parties, particularly Syria, striking a separate peace with Jerusalem, as Egypt did in 1979, "That would seal the fate of the Palestinians," said Said Zeedani, director of the West Bank humanrights group al-Haq.

Instead, the Palestinians will finally sit down face-to-face with the Israelis to bargain for a measure of self-rule. In exchange, Jerusalem hopes to settle its 43year-old conflict with an Arab world that



Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Pankin now have to wonder if the Israelis . . .

contained no names they would object to. Said an uncharacteristically trustful Shamir: "Jim Baker's word is good enough for me." The Prime Minister said it was up to his full Cabinet to decide finally whether Israel would attend the talks. But at the same time, the Soviet Union announced that it was formally restoring diplomatic ties with Israel, suspended since the 1967 war. That

But he assured the Israelis that the roster | has refused to grant it a permanent place in the region. In theory, they will negotiate on the basis of the formula first spelled out in U.N. Resolution 242: land for peace. But the Shamir government has made it clear that it has no intention of withdrawing from any of the disputed territory it claims as Eretz Yisrael.

Nevertheless, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon have also agreed to engage in this stage orbitateral talks with the Israelis, which wall start no more than four days after the formal opening session. Ten days faster, a third phase of negotiation will begin. The Gulf Cooperation Council, representing states the Saudi Arabia and Kuwati, sexpected to join in organizing broader regional talks to consolve questions the water gifts, charmatories are supported to the control of the control of the council of the council of the council of the state of the council of the council of the regional level.

The Palestinians have much to gain from this historic negotiation. Their aims are more realistic than ever before; gone is the dream of regaining all of mandatory Palestine and of establishing a state overnight. The Palestinians know they must pursue their appration of a smaller honeland step-by-step through negotiations. Still, they seemil-prepared, both technically and psychologically, for the laborious horse-trading needled to profit from this opportunity.

inclosed piteritron articlepterating. The Palestimans, unlike the other parties to the talks, lack the resources of a forties to the talks, lack the resources of a forsecurital in deviago, negatigates services and and in anticipating the reactions and unities of other parties. Palestima activities say a number of committees have been formed to begin collecting material and forming ideas. Still, concede Ziaid Aba Zayayd, editor of the Palestiman ensopaper Gesliev and a possible conference delagraphic and a possible conference delaties. The parties of the palestiman ensopaper Gesliev and a possible conference delagraphic and a possible conference del

Nor is Washington much further along-

The thesis underlying Baker's dogged efforts in the region was that convening the conference in itself would alter the parties' attitudes about what they might be able to accomplish. The small circle of Baker aides involved in the conference has been too occupied getting the parties to the table to plan what happens once they arrive. There is also the question of U.S. representation: with Bush and Baker leaving town so quickly, who will take over as the principal American delegate, to move along the complex array of bilateral and multilateral talks? One name being mentioned is Richard Armitage, who recently served as chief negotiator on the Philippine bases, but

he Palestinians' disarray is not entirely their own doing. At Israel's insistence, only residents of the territories who are not connected with the Palestine Liberation Organization will formally participate in negotiations, of the Palestine Liberation of the Palestine of the the Palestine Liberation of the Palestine of the the Palestine of the Palestine of the Palestine of the control of the Palestine of the Palestine of the Palestine of the phone contact with key Palestinian in the

Washington has not decided yet.

The troubling fact is that many of them lack faith in the outcome of the process. "If you ask the average Palestinian," says. Ghassan al-Khatib, an economist and another potential delegate, "he will say this is

nonsens: Israelis don't want peace, and the Americans are not serious about pressing them." Those who are not merely dismissive of the conference tend to be webmently opposed to participation in it, and they include the followers of the Islamic fundamentalist group Hamas as well as the so-called relectionist factions of the P.L.O.

The climate of cynicism is a handicus for the Palestinian negotiators. They lack a mandate to accept the compromises than when the compromess than when the control of the Palestinian cause; at worst, there is the possibility they will be leder traitors to the Palestinian cause; at worst, they risk vidence. Beneath the vibrant bougainvilleas that peep over the walls trained to the palestinian interfector crounding Palestinian interfector crounding Palestinian interfector in Service of the Palestinian countries are under the palestinian interfector in th

The vast gap between the contending positions will become evident as soon as the Israelis and Palestinians begin to hage low think the Palestinians begin to hage low think the Palestinians see autonomy; a modified form of self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strin; as the starting point for an eventual independent state. Shamir see; it as the most String will be conceide. Somethow, sameous someday will have to devise an imperious bridge to bring the colored colored and the control of the colored colored to the colored colored to the colored colored to the colored colored to the colored colored colored to the colored colored



... and the Palestinians, who demand a separate state of their own, are willing and able to find any real common ground



Author Hersh, left, claims Israeli spy Pollard, below left, delivered stolen information on U.S. strategic missiles to Shamir, who in turn passed it on to the Soviet Union



launch a concerfed war to destrow the Jessis state unless three had Soviet broken; targetting forzeli mikes on the U.S.S.R. wanted deter Moscow from offering such support. According to the book. Earnel the life of the law of the la

Jerusalem thought Arab nations would not

As In back as December 1987, a Unitde Press International story quoted U.S. untelligence analysis as saying that some of uncertainties of the promises to increase emigration of Soviet Joses to Israel. Hersh works at least mis formational in passing but stresses others. His second source, who sufficiently the production of the proside the story as well known among brarel's top politicains, claims that Shamir told tockleagues. "That the grad the novel and the Seviet Union and mittale some kind of strategic comperation."

Shamir supposedly sought Soviet goodwill "as a means of offsetting Israel's realtional reliance on the U.S.," which disturbed him for personal as well as diplomatic reasons. According to Beat Menashe, says Hersh, Shamir viscerally disliked the U.S. "the unnamed brase said that "Shamir him to the properties of the said that "Shamir him and strong regimes. He sees the U.S. as very soft, bourgeois, materialistic and effect."

If that tale sounds automating, much of Hern's bonk is otherwise commoning. The reporter who exposed the full stories of the MJ. Lai massacre and Manuel Noriegais of urgarunning set out to tell how Israel descepted the Bonh. If his assertions come as one real surprise, the evidence he brings are not bear is impressive. For years, most of the world has suspected that Israel possessed unclear weapons. Even Israelië evoly refer to the "bonh in the basement." But Hersh concentrates no immarison her U.S. has

Did Shamir Give Away Secrets?

Yes, says a new book by an investigative journalist, and they were America's top secrets: nuclear targets

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

he story, writes investigative reporter Seymour Hersh, "might seem almost too startling to be believed." Indeed. But Hersh did come to believe it, and it is now surfacing in his book The Samson Option. being published this week by Random House. In capsule: among the American secrets stolen for Israel by convicted spy Jonathan Pollard was some of the most vital information the U.S. possessed; satellite pictures and data used to aim nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union. Some of this was relayed by Jerusalem to the Soviets. And the man who supposedly made the decision to do it and in person passed some of the data was none other than Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir

Rumors have floated ever since Pollard's conviction that some of the U.S. secrets he stole had reached Moscow, but no one had suggested that Shamir was directly responsible. Hersh first heard this allegation from Ari Ben-Menashe, a former Israeli intelligence officer and veteran spinner of stunning-if-true-but yarns. He was the teller of the October Surprise tale about an alleged 1980 agreement between the Reagan campaign and Iranian officials to delay the release of American hostages until after the U.S. election. Hersh says Ben-Menashe's account was "subsequently amplified by a second Israeli, who cannot be named." This second source asserted, as Hersh puts ii, that the material was "sanitized" so that any damage to the U.S. would be lessened. But, says Hersh, some of it "was directly provided to Yevgeny M. Primakov, the Sowet Foreign Ministry's specialist on the Middle East Inow chief of foreign intelligence for the Kremlinl, who met publicle and privately with Shamir.

Why on earth would Shamir turn over targeting information, sanitized or not, to the Soviets? After all, says Hersh, Israel has trained its own nuclear weapons primarily on the Soviet Union since it made its first warheads in 1968. His explanation:

Spinner of Tangled Yarns

We have it is Ari Ben-Menashe? A lowly translator who never rose above unimportant desk jobs, according to the Israeli government. A teller of "bald-faced lies," says Coroge Bush. A demon peddler of arms by his own account. Seymour Hersh says Ben-Menashe's an expert on signal intelligence who served more through theyars in the Israel army and in 1987, so the claims, became an intelligence adviser to Prime Minister Ytizhak. Shamir. In mid-1990 he brought his story to Hersh before leaving the U.S. for Australia and all lief oreliet.

But Ben-Menashe has been eager to put his name to all kinds of tales. He has been that to their designate Robert Gates was a central figure in secret U.S. sales of arms to Iraq. He claims Robert MeFarlame was simultaneously National Security Adviser and the top Israel says in Washington. He impressed one reporter who has dealt with him as a fabricator who nonetheless did now connections in Israel intelligence. Some of his stories are unbelievable; some seem to contain a kernel of Iruth. The big question is siwhich are without.



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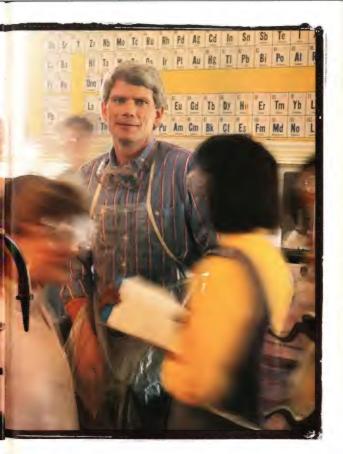
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determinedly looked the other way. American Presidents could not condone Israel's development of nuclear weapons, but any move to impose sanctions on Israel would provoke the Jewish state's legion of American admirers.

In 1967, says Hersh, Ambassador to Israel Walworth Barbour, eager not to upset Lyndon Johnson, told his subordinates to stop monitoring the progress of the Israeli nuclear reactor at Dimona, where the Bomb was thought to be. Later, during the Nixon Administration, Barbour was given a special intelligence briefing on the Israeli weapons program and announced he did not believe it. One of the briefers told Hersh that Barbour gave this explanation: "If I acknowledge this, then I have to go to the President. And if he admitted it. he'd have to do something about it."

ctually, according to the book, Nixon A and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger approved of Israel's weapons program. even though they were subjected to what Hersh calls "nuclear blackmail," When Israel feared that it was on the brink of defeat in the 1973 October War, Jerusalem asserted that if Washington did not immediately resupply the weapons the Israeli armed forces had lost it would fire its nukes. Kissinger, who had wanted to delay sending more arms in the hope of setting up a land-for-peace settlement, quickly changed his mind.

In September 1979, when a U.S. satellite observed an intense flash of light over the Indian Ocean, Jimmy Carter would have found it very embarrassing to admit that it was an atomic test, especially an Israeli test. He would have had to "do something strong," said one official, "but there was a large segment of the population that Carter couldn't alienate.

Hersh recounts story after story of deceit and willful gullibility, nearly all as convincing as they are depressing-with the possible exception of the tale about Shamir's giving U.S. secrets to the Soviets. Jerusalem, Moscow and Washington have already begun denying that one. Shamir's military aide. Brigadier General Azriel Nevo, called it "an outright lie." Yitzhak Rabin, who was defense minister at the time of the Pollard affair, says Israel never received any such information. In Moseow. Primakov dismissed the story as "utter nonsense" and denied that anyone. American or Israeli "has ever passed such information to me.

A Washington official familiar with the Pollard case also says the spy did not provide such data to Israel. The White House declined to comment. On the face of it, the story does sound too mind-boggling to be immediately credible. But Hersh is a careful and seasoned reporter, and in the Middle East there is almost nothing so bizarre as to be beyond belief

BURMA

Heroine in Chains

The Nobel Peace Prize won by Aung San Suu Kyi, under house arrest since 1989, will not bring her freedom

s the overnight curfew ended, a squad 1 A of soldiers lifted barbed-wire barricades from the middle of Rangoon's treelined University Avenue. Then they took up positions, as they do every day, at four sentry boxes in front of the residential compound where Aung San Suu Kyi, 46, the leader of Burma's democratic opposition, has been under house arrest since July 1989.

Members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee said last week that they could not be sure that Aung San Suu Kyi even knew she had been awarded the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize. But if she has access to a shortwave radio, she would have learned the news from overseas without delay. As the head of an opposition using "nonviolent means to resist a regime characterized by brutality. read the Nobel citation. Aung San Suu Kyi has become "one of the most extraordinary examples of civil courage in Asia in recent decades." Within hours much of Burma-which the ruling junta has renamed Myanmar-was whispering the news

For Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democraey, the Peace Prize was the first major morale booster in more than a year. Although she was already under house arrest at Aung San Suu Kyl in 1989 the time, her party won a land-

slide victors in the May 1990 parliamentary elections, taking 392 of the 485 seats. But the generals refused to surrender power. Instead they arrested scores of elected parliamentarians and hundreds of Buddhist monks

Burma's military rulers were predictably unimpressed by last week's news. The cool reception the award was given in other Asian states was hardly more encouraging. "It might prick the conscience of a few people," said Zakaria Ahmad, head of strategic and security studies at the National University of Malaysia, "but it won't change anything." A Singaporean diplomat categorized the prize as "almost a nonevent.

Such attitudes illustrate the contrast between the West's vocal outrage at human-rights abuses, even as Western oil companies are exploring there, and the Asian view that such issues should be handled without direct confrontation. Some Asians even see the latest Peace Prize as a form of interference in Burma's domestic affairs, even of neocolonial badgering. Almost all Asian governments are more eager to do business with Burma than to put pressure on it. South Korea recently opened a household-appliance factory there. China has agreed to sell the junta almost \$1 billion in armaments, partly in return for Burmese teak and minerals.



The six-member Association of South liast Asian Nations, a political and economic grouping, has repeatedly rejected calls from the West to impose economic sanctions on Burma. Lee Kuan Yew, the former Prime Minister of Singapore, explains that ASEAN thinks sanctions will not work. "The ASEAN view," he says, "is that if we boycott or condemn the government. we'll lose influence with it."

The prize, which includes a gold medal and about \$1 million, will be presented in Oslo in December, but Aung San Suu Kyi is not likely to be there. The junta has told her she can leave the country only if she agrees never to return, a condition she flatly refuses. Like other foes of injustice, whose efforts take place far off the world's stage, she cannot know what the outcome of her struggle will be. -By Bruce W. Nelan. Reported by Sandra Burton and David S. Jackson/ Hong Kong



America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

How Tout le Monde Missed the Story

t some particularly weird moment in the latest install-A ment of the Great American Melodrama, I had a consoling thought: well, at least it can't get any worse than this. Maybe it was when Howell Heffin, playing Senator Beauregard Claghorn, was in the midst of some bloviation, the point of which seemed to have escaped him. Or maybe it was when Orrin Hatch, playing Perry Mason, revealed that a key piece of evidence, a pubic hair, actually appeared on page 70 of The Exorcist and therefore couldn't possibly have been in Clarence Thomas' Coke.

But then I noticed something on TV for the first time: amid the reporters covering the event were two whom I recognized as members of the foreign press corps, both known for their jaundiced eye and acid wit. My heart sank. It suddenly occurred to me that having spent days watching our politicians make prime-time fools of themselves, we Americans were soon going to have to listen to Europeans lecture us on how immature and naive we are. We heard it during Watergate. and we'd hear it again now: Grow up, America! Start behaving like a superpower instead of a Sunday school.

Sure enough, last week Christine Toomey of the Sunday Times of London wailed, "America has flung itself again into one of the spasms of passionate moral debate that nations more tolerant of human frailty find so hard to understand." In Switzerland the Busler Zeitung concluded that "the most American aspect of the affair" was that "behind the thin dam of wordy morality, puritanical shyness and 'ethics' swirls a sea

of corruption, madness and wickedness

As might have been expected, the French, who tend to be connoisseurs of other nations' foibles, provided the most piquant blend of sneering and scolding. "Since the arrival of the pilgrim fathers," said Le Monde in a front-page editorial, "America has never truly settled its account with sin. The old Puritan heritage periodically surges forth from the collective memory, invading the national life and upsetting the political game. But over time, these resurgences of prudery have grown in cruelty, bordering today on the absurd

In some ways the distant voices echoed the disgust that many Americans felt about the Thomas matter. But in a critical respect, a number of European commentators betrayed their own obtuseness. They depicted the embattled judge as a villain/victim in the tradition of John Profumo, the British Minister of War whose fling with a call girl, and his lies about it to Parliament, cost him his job in 1963. Fleet Street was none too tolerant of human frailty then, nor was it earlier this month when Sir Allan Green, the chief prosecutor for England and Wales, was caught soliciting a prostitute and

In short, some Europeans saw the Thomas affair as a sex

scandal. Hence all the scorn for American "prudery" and

To be sure, there were some distinctly X-rated moments, especially when it was Hatch's turn to work with the raw material of Anita Hill's allegations. More than once it seemed as though he was about to summon Long Dong Silver to appear before the Judiciary Committee in person (or worse).

Still, in its essence. Hill v. Thomas had almost nothing to do with what happens between consenting adults. It wasn't about sex at all, except in the most G-rated sense that Hill is a woman, Thomas a man, What most Americans understoodand many Europeans apparently failed to grasp-was that there was, if not a saving grace, then at least a mitigating factor in this otherwise bizarre and lamentable business; yet again, American politics was struggling with the shortcomings of American society.

Even though the men in charge of the hearings included several demonstrable buffoons and hypocrites who were under duress from outraged constituents, the fact remains that they were part of a peculiarly American process of trying, ever so imperfectly, to perfect the rules of civilized behavior, to get it right and to shake the bad habits of the past

At the heart of all the silliness and nastiness was an attempt to address a fundamental question of decency and fairness: How, in the best of all possible worlds, should citizens treat each other? More specifically, how should men treat women? At issue, in other words, was not sin in the eyes of God or in the preachings of Cotton Mather, but rights, as pro-

teeted by the Constitution and defined in U.S. law. Granted, a few overseas observers did get the point. The Times of London acknowledged, "The Americans have blazed this new and elusive trail for mutual respect in the workplace, as they have in many other areas of women's rights," and the Economist saw at the heart of a flawed system "a commitment to individual dignity

Far more typical, however, was the response just across the Channel. Alan Riding, the Paris bureau chief of the New York Times, noted that many French commentators were "ignoring the broader question of sexual harassment." That may be because they had yet to get past the first syllable and comprehend what the phrase sexual harassment really mean

Writing in the New York Times on Friday, the British novelist Fay Weldon nicely diagnosed the divide between the Old World and the New on this issue: "We are well enough attuned to racism; sexism, alas, scarcely upsets us. You in the U.S. have serious thoughts about 'gender'-we go on thinking about sex

Which is why so many editors on her side of the Atlantic, in covering the big story out of Washington, got it wrong.

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WORLD NOTES

THE PHILIPPINES

A Bit of Yanky Panky

An American soldier of fortune named Jack Terrell, who once worked for the contra rebels in Nicaragua, created a political



The "uncomplicated" Manglapus

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

With the cold war over, it hard-

ly seems time to start building

And Now, a

Euroarmy

week when he implicated Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus in a bizarre plot to murder a handful of President Corazon Aquino's opponents, including rehel Colonel Gregorio ("Gringo") Honasan. Aquino defended her For-

storm in the Philippines last

Aquino defended her Forcign Secretary as "an uncomplicated man" who would never contemplate murder. Manglapus, a droll diplomat who once set his thoughts on U.S.-Philippine relations to music in a theatrical comedy called Yanki.

But the drama will probably not be short-lived. Opposition Senator Juan Ponce Enrile, who is running for President, called for a Senate investigation that could easily last until elections are held in May 1992.

including the U.S.—which is not a member of the WEE and thus has the most influence to lose—were more restrained. Some diplomats suggested that a Euroarmy could play a role in future gulf-style conflicts, as lone as the Atlantic Alliance is

not weakened. The basis of the proposed army is a 4,200-troop Franco-German brigade based near Stuttgart that can barely be called a joint force. Its soldiers carry different rifles, wear their own national uniforms and operate in separate battalions. Expanding so fractious a concept to an army corps of about 35,000 to 40,000 soldiers could take years. Creating a full army could take a generation. By that time, with any luck, it will no longer be needed.



tory and a dilemma: U.D.F. supporters celebrate election result

BULGARIA

Squeeze Play

Millions of Jubilant Balgarians celebrated the sictory last week of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces over the Socialists, as the former Communists are now called, in the nation's second multiparty parliamentary elections. "You are free! The age of communism in Bulgaria is over!" shouted LODE, leader Flip Dimitrow, who was later nominated to be Prime Minister.

The problem was that the center-right U.D.F. polled just

34,5% of the vote, to the Socialists' 33.5%. This means that the U.D.F., if it is to rule without the former Communists, will need the support of the Turkish minority, whose party won 7.4% of the vote and 24 seats in the new 240-member parliament. But the ethnic Turks, who were widely persecuted under the Communists, are asking for at least one ministry-a demand that the Socialists, in turn, are using to fan fears of Turkish separatism. Exactly how the U.D.F. deals with this dilemma will demonstrate to what degree post-Communist Bulgaria is committed to multiparty democracy.

Bye-Bye, Stanislaw

With about 60 parties fielding candidates, the run-up to Poland's first truly independent parliamentary elections next weekend has been chaotic. But at least émigré businessman Stanislaw Tyminski, founder of Party X, won't be there to kick the electorate around anymore. Earlier this month he flew home to Canada, disheartened because Party X, which claims 4 million supporters, was denied a place on the national ballot on account of signatures on its qualifying petitions that were discovered to be false.

Many Poles, weary of Tyminski's crude emotionalism and obsessive anti-Semitic rantings, heaved a sigh of relief. His special enemy is ex-Solidarity activist Adam Michnik, editor



Home again: Tyminski

in chief of Warsaw's Guzeta Wiborcza, whose paper noted two months ago how quickly Tyminski had supported the Soviet coupt. The next day Pyminski sent a chicken carcase to the paper, characterizing it as carrion for carrion. Tyminski's political role is mangand m any case. He Poles' real concern is their economy, which has failed to rebound since the fall of communsmin 1982.

an all-new army in Europe. Yet France and Germany are doing just that. President François Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Kohl last week proposed the creation of an all-European army, starting with a small Franco-German brigade that is already in existence and eventually comprising troops from all the nine nations in the Western European Union.

Staunch Atlanticists initially

opposed the idea: British For-

eign Secretary Douglas Hurd

called it an unnecessary "dupli-

cation" of NATO, But others,

In step? The small Franco-German brigade

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GLOBAL INTRIGUE

The Wackiest **Rig in Texas**

When Bahrain's rulers awarded a high-stakes oil deal to shaky Harken Energy, were they also trying to win favors from the White House?

By RICHARD BEHAR DALLAS

ew ventures in the oil industry have ever produced such a gusher of speculation. Early next month, engineers will drill a 14,000-ft, well near Jarim Reef off the island of Bahrain, a tiny Persian Gulf nation not far from the world's richest oil deposits. If the exploratory pipe hits crude, it will enrich a cast of investors that includes the Bass brothers of Texas, the Rupert family of South Africa, the Harvard University endowment fund and George W. Bush, the President's eldest son. If the well is dry, the episode will prompt shareholders to wonder why they ever put faith in a l'exas-size enigma called Harken Energy Corp.

The suburban Dallas company is surely one of the most mysterious and eccentric outfits ever to drill for oil. Harken consists of almost no assets besides an exclusive 35year contract to explore for crude in Bahrain. When the country's rulers handed Harken that deal early last year, it puzzled oil experts around the world. Why would Bahrain stake so much of its financial future on an obscure, money-losing company with no refineries and no experience in offshore oil exploration? "It was a surprise," says Jay Gallagher, a senior analyst for Petroconsultants, one of the world's largest oil information outfits. "Harken is not traditionally a company that explores internationally.

The deal ignited oil-patch speculation that Bahrain's rulers see the arrangement as a way to gain influence with the Bush Administration. The President's son, known informally as George Jr., is a Harken investor, director and consultant. No one has produced evidence that Bahrain has won any favors from the White House in return. Yet the financial connection has caused the Administration some discomfort, most notably last fall when reporters asked whether the young Bush's gulf investment had any influence on his father's decision to send troops there. Said Bush's by the end of the decade

son last October: "No, I don't feel American troops in Saudi Arabia are preserving George Jr.'s drilling prospects. I think that's a little farfetched

Yet the tiny country, with a population of 500,000 and a land area only four times the size of Washington, D.C., is unabashed in its desire to foster a warm relationship with the U.S. Last week the President greeted Bahrain's emir, Sheik Isa bin Salman al-Khalifa, with a 21-gun salute at the White House in honor of his nation's role as the principal allied naval base during the gulf war

The firm Bahrain chose to find its bonanza has a freewheeling history, even by Texas standards. Harken director E. Stuart Watson, a former executive for oil giant Atlantic Richfield, calls the Dallas company's deals "convoluted" and difficult even for industry veterans to grasp. Says Harken founder Phil Kendrick, still a small shareholder: "Their annual reports and press releases get me totally befuddled. There's been so much promotion, manipulation and inside dealmaking. It's been a fastnumbers game." Some former executives charge the firm with routinely inflating its assets to make its balance sheets look better. Harken's longtime chief executive, Mikel Faulkner, insists the operation is "clean." But Faulkner, an accountant, offers this advice for those trying to decipher Harken's financial statements: "Good luck. They're a mess.

Harken began life in the late 1970s as an unprofitable collection of Texas oil wells for investors seeking tax write-offs. That strategy changed in 1984 when Alan Quasha, a lawyer and Harvard M.B.A., bought control and became chairman. Quasha proceeded to trade large chunks of Harken stock for sick oil companies, which owned not only wells but also pipelines and retail gas stations. Aiming to salvage or spin off the assets, Quasha generated a dizzving web of deals that would eventually push Harken's debt past \$100 million and boost its revenues to more than \$1.1 billion



Along the way Harken began to suffer from the collapse of oil prices, which depressed the value of assets it had acquired. Yet Quasha managed to attract a steady flow of investment capital from the likes of Harvard's endowment fund, Hungarianborn superinvestor George Soros and the South African liquor and tobacco barons. the Rupert family. Despite the company's sloppy bookkeeping and long-shot prospeets, all except Soros continue to hold large blocks of stock, "Alan Quasha will charm your pants off," explains a former Harken executive. "You will take your wallet out and empty it into anything that he

George Bush Jr.'s affiliation with Harken began in the oil-bust year of 1986. when he and a group of partners received more than \$2 million worth of Harken stock in exchange for his floundering 180well Texas oil operation, Spectrum 7 Ener-





TWO COUNTRIES LINKED BY WARM RELATIONS AND A DRILLING CONTRACT: The President's oldest son, George W. Bush, stands to reap millions of tollars if Harken Energy is successful in finding crude near the Jarim Reel. Last week the President welcomed Bahrain's emit to the White House with a 21-gun salute to bonor the country's role in the gulf war.



gg Corp., which had lost \$400,000 in the six muntus before the sale. "His properties were pretty well encumbered," recalls director Waston. "The banks hadn't foreclosed, but that was in the wind." Not long after Bash joined Harken's board, he took charge of the Texas Rangers and shifted his attention langely to baseball. Yet he remains a Harken cunsultant, earning annual feesor \$500,000 to \$20,000.

The year after Bush came aboard, a reclassive Saudi named Abdullah Taliah Bakkah bought an 11% stake in Harken through a Netherlands Antilles shell company. The Saudi, a specon with global interests in oil, real estate and jewelry, hoped Harken cuidd someday serve as a vehicle for moving Saudi crude into the U.S. But the strategy would never come to pass.

That year Quasha made one of his worst investments, paying \$36 million (probably twice its real worth) for 15-Z

Serve, a studge owner of gas pumps at 900 rural service stations and convenience stores. It suffered every travail from management infighting to IRS audits to environmental disasters. Seven states have cited E-Z Serve for soil or groundwater contamination.

containments.

Containments.

Old Company was its lack of a celiner, In 1989 Quasha made a \$190 million bid for a publick held refinery. Tessors Petroleum. Tessors never had any interest in merging—its board wouldn't even respond directly in the differ—mar did Quasha thate properties to the difference of the display of

On several occasions Quasha's deals

have been marked by apparent conflicts of the interest. Last year he tried in vain to get larked to vain to get larked to buy a privately held refinery. Frontier Ofi, in which he owned a starble stake. In another instance Ourshu sold taken, In another instance Ourshu sold marked by the order of the controlled by both his own family and need until the South African Ruperts. Harken booked an Skmillion gain on the deal, only towrite it all off later as a loss.

One of Harken's few profitable ventures was its high-flying commodities trading arm. But suddenly in 1989 the division racked up a \$17 million loss, prompting Quasha to shut down the operation. Insiders say the oil traders never had careful supervision, systematic controls or enough money in the bank to ridle out a downturn.

By the end of the 1980s. Harken was bloaded and indebted, but it wom a wind-fall. Bahrain, which produces a mere 42,000 bbls, of oils aday Scandi Arabia's court-put: more than 8 million, decided to hunt for more crucie. In 1989 Bahrain officials suddenly and mysterfiously broke oil promaing talks with Armouc. One minister then telephoned an old french. Michael America. However, the respect of the East operations. "They

wanted a small American company," claims Ameen, who says he drew a blank. But 10 minutes later, Ameen got a call from an investment banking friend in Arkansas, who rec-

ommended Harken.
Yet Harken had almost no
eash to earry out the job, so it
brought in the billionaire Bass
brothers to finance the drilling,
which could ultimately cost
\$50 million. What remains inexplicable is why Ameen or the
Basses or other experienced
wildcatters in the first blace.

With the Bahrain deal in hand. Quasha decided to dump almost everything else.

The company owned L000 wells and 600 gas-station pumps, all of which helped produce more than S40 million in losses in 1990. Earlier this year, Ouasha spun oil Harken shelt-blach businesses, into separate public companies and then retired as chairman. Twe yet to find a business that's had nothing but successes, says he. "We've obvious had disappointments."

we've on others's fault unsupprinted were to a conprinte move to build be Bahruin feel. In fact, board members-say he soiced doubts board wheelf r Harken had the means and expertise for such a distant oil play. Even so, he hasal rendy earned a handsome profi from it. In late June 1990, five months-air crit he deal was scaled and abovat a month before Irsq, imoded. Kuwiit, young Bush and 16% of the InTahren stake (or 212, 140 sold 16% of the InTahren stake (or 212, 140 SSSLIMD), which opposemented a 200% profit on his original stake. Net he failed to re-

port the transaction until last March, in apparent violation of Securities and Exchange Commission rules. Bush contended at the time that the SEC had misplaced the report. Responds sec spokesman John Heine: "As far as I know nobody ever found the 'lost' filing." Bush declined to comment on either the incident or his involvement with Hurken

Faulkner, Harken's current chairman,

says his Bahraini partners won't let him discuss terms of the deal, "even with board members." Oil experts figure that Bahrain will keep about 75% of all potential profits, with the rest to be split between Harken and the Basses. Despite a breakup value of about 70e a share, Harken stock trades at \$5 these days in anticipation of a big initial find on Jarim Reef. Says Houston oil analyst Charles Strain:

"In a few years it's either going to be \$30 stock or 30e, so it's a pretty easy choice for an investor. You either roll the dice or you don't." The last wildcat well, drilled in 1986 by the Kuwaitis, was a total dud. But the hard-luck Harken may be due for a break. If it does find crude, the President's son could be a multimillion-dollar winner - With reporting by Jonathan Beaty/

Dallas and Richard Woodbury/Houston

A Mysterious Mover of Money and Planes

he Harken Energy folks are not the only Texas-based The Harken Energy tolks are not the only colleagues of George W. Bush with fortuitous, if not extraordinary, Arab connections. Another is the mysterious Houston businessman James R. Bath, a deal broker whose alleged associations run from the CIA to a major shareholder and director of the Bank of Credit & Commerce International. The President's son has denied that he ever had business dealings with Bath, but early 1980s tax records reviewed by TIME show that Bath invested \$50,000 in Bush's energy ventures and remained a stockholder until Bush sold his company to Harken in 1986.

Bath's penchant for secrecy has been frustrated by a feud with a former business partner, Bill White, who claims that Bath was a front man for CIA business operations. White contends that Bath has used his connections to the Bush family and Texas Senator Lloyd Bent-

sen to cloak the development of a lucrative array of offshore companies designed to move money and airplanes between the Middle East and Texas. White, an Annapolis graduate and former Navy fighter pilot, claims it was Bentsen's son Lan who suggested that White go into the real estate development business with Bath, a former Air Force fighter pilot. The partners prospered together at first, but since their falling out they have dueled in five lawsuits in which Bath has kept the upper hand. White claims, by privately asserting to the court that he had "national security" connections.

White now claims in court that Bath wanted to borrow \$550,000 from their real estate venture to cover funds that Bath had "misappropriated" from an aircraft company he controlled.

Bath, 55, acknowledges a friendship with George W. Bush that stems from their service together in the Texas Air National Guard, and says he is "slightly" acquainted with the President. But Bath vehemently denies White's accusations, "I am not a member of the CIA or any other intelligence agency," he says, describing White's portraval as a "fantasy," Even so, Bath, while insisting he is nothing more than a "small, obscure businessman," is associated with some of the most powerful figures in the U.S. and Middle East. Private records show, and associates confirm, that Bath is a "representative" for several immensely wealthy Saudi families, an unusual position for any small-time Texas businessman.

Bath got his start in real estate in 1973 by forming a partnership with Lan Bentsen. One purpose, sources tell TIME, was to find investments for the Senator's blind trust. Bath and Bentsen have said they have not been partners for years, but secretaries at Bath's office still answer the phone with a cheery 'Bath Bentsen Interests." Bath says he simply hasn't got around to changing the name of his company.

Bath opened his own aircraft brokerage firm in 1976, but his Middle East connections first surfaced two years later, when he became a shareholder and director of Houston's Main Bank. His fellow investors were former U.S. Treasury Secretary John Connally; Saudi financier Ghaith Pharaon, an alleged B.C.C.L. front man; and Saudi banker Khaled bin Mahfouz, who subsequently became a major B.C.C.I. shareholder. Pharaon later sold his Main Bank holdings and bought the National Bank of Georgia, allegedly on behalf of B.C.C.I. Unusual transactions involving Main Bank in the late 1970s came to light last year when a researcher discovered that the small community bank, at a time when it held only \$58 million in deposits, had been

buying \$10 million a month in new \$100 bills. Purpose: unknown.

Bath controlled a fleet of companies connected to his aircraft business, and he enjoyed unusual carte blanche to direct the U.S. investments of several wealthy Middle Easterners. Associates confirm that Bath has brokered more than \$150 million in private plane deals in recent years, concentrated in sales and leases to Middle Eastern royalty and other influential figures. Pharaon is believed to have bought several expensive jets for his construction company. One Bath entity, Skyway Aircraft. leased a \$10 million Gulfstream



II to the Abu Dhabi National Oil Co., which is controlled by Sheik Zaved bin Sultan an-Nahayan, the President of the United Arab Emirates and the current owner of B.C.C.I. Bath's partners in Skyway, one of four similarly named companies he controls, are artfully hidden. The firm that incorporated Bath's companies in the Cayman Islands is the same one that set up a money-collecting front company for Oliver North in the Iran-contra affair.

Even if Bath is a clandestine public servant, the U.S. may not always get a bargain. The Houston Post reported last year that the U.S. had spent millions of dollars more than necessary by fueling military aircraft, including Air Force One, at privately owned Southwest Airport Services at Ellington Field rather than using a government fuel station there. Bath operates and holds a majority ownership stake in Southwest Airport Services, which the Post said was charging a markup of as much as 60% on the fuel. So far, the paper's charges have prompted no official investigations. -- By Jonathan Beaty.

With reporting by S.C. Gwynne/Houston

BUSINESS NOTES

THE ECONOMY

It's Stuck In Neutral

The rundown U.S. economy sent discouraging new signals last week that it cannot shake the blahs. In one major sign of weakness, a virtual Who's Who of blue-chip companies reported huge losses or falling profits for the third quarter of this year. Citicorp lost \$885 million largely because of red ink at its Ouotron stock-reporting service and costs stemming from the layoff of 5,000 workers earlier this year. The largest U.S. banking firm said it would suspend its dividend and dismiss several thousand more workers. Among manufacturers, IBM said slumping sales caused its profits to plunge 85% in the recent quarter.

The prevailing profit drought "holds down capital spending and is behind a lot of layoffs," says Lawrence Chimerine, senior adviser to the forecasting firm DRI-McGraw Hill, Concurs Allen Sinai, chief

economist for the Boston Co. Economic Advisers: "Pressure on profits means cost cutting will remain part of the vise that is squeezing consumers.

The latest economic reports from Washington gave little evidence that the squeeze would end anytime soon. The Commerce Department said the Consumer Price Index surged at an annual rate of nearly 5% in September, dampening expectations that the Federal Reserve Board would ease interest rates further. At the same time, the economy's few bright spots were barely flickering. Washington said industrial production rose just 0.1% in September, while housing starts dropped 2.2%, the first decline in six months.

The weak economy was of growing concern to the White House last week as President Bush met with Republican congressional leaders to craft a program to stimulate business activity. The Administration is expected to call once again for a cut in the capital-gains tax, among other measures.



Letting a computer handle the details

Will You **Program Me?**

SOFTWARE

As the dearly betrothed quickly find out, organizing a wedding is no honeymoon. Between the popping of the question and the uncorking of the champagne comes a logistical nightmare. Seizing on that idea, a newlywed couple has developed a computer program that promises to "let you think of your wedding as a series of small, easily controllable events." The Wedding Planner (price: \$49.95) helps marrieds-to-be keep track of invitations. RSVPS. gifts, reservations. thank-you notes and the running tally of expenses. It even reminds the bride when to order her dress. The average wedding costs more than

\$10,000. This program can save a lot of time. energy and money," claims Sergei Scurfield, president of Calgary-based Ninga Software. which markets the program. The company introduced the planner last month and expects to sell 10,000 copies by year's end. The software, currently sold at Radio Shack stores, will be available in other outlets soon. There are no plans for a Divorce Planner, but a computor game called the Civil War (not the domestic variety)

should be out early next year.

CHARITY

Writing Off The Weapons

The pen is mightier than the sword-and maybe even more enduring than the nuclear missile. Wisconsin-based Parker Pen is offering a line of pens composed partly of metal from American and Soviet missiles decommissioned in the wake of arms agreements between the two superpowers. Half the sales price of the pens will go to the Memorial Fund for Disaster Relief, a charity for victims of



catastrophes around the world. Parker, whose pens have been used to sign the arms-control treaties, is offering a range of instruments from a humble ballpoint for \$30 to a top-of-the-line fountain pen for \$300. Each carries an emblem forged from the melted-down missiles.



ENTERTAINMENT

After the Star Is Gone

The sudden death of raunchy raconteur Redd Foxx during a rehearsal for his new TV series The Royal Family, deprived America of one of its most popular comedians-and may have cheated CBS of a hit. Foxx's much-anticipated return to TV. opposite co-star Della Reese. was producing respectable ratings for the network in a longlagging Wednesday-night time slot, cas has only three more episodes featuring Foxx. While replacing him will be difficult. since the show was tailor-made for Foxx, the network hopes to keep the series alive. One possibility: a new male lead, perhaps two-time star Sherman Hemsley (The Jeffersons and Amen), who already has a development deal with CBS. The strategy is risky. After the suicide of comedian Freddie Prinze in 1977 NBC replaced him with a child actor in Chico and the Man, and the network hit swiftly became REGULATION

Take That, John Sununu!

There are many reasons to go the extra mile in government service, but leave it to banking regulator L. William Seidman to come up with a new one: because the White House didn't want him to. When the curmudgeonly chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation stepped down last week at the end of a six-year term, he disclosed that he would have left last year but for the efforts of the Bush Administration to

cashier him. In the blunt style that particularly annoyed White House chief of staff John Sununu, Seidman declared. talked to them about getting out of here so they could put in somebody their own. The next thing I knew. I heard the White House leaking



that the President was trying to force me out." Fearing for the FDIC's independence. Seidman decided to stay. Such frank talk may have been the bane of Bush, but it could be the stuff of stardom. Starting this week, Seidman will serve as correspondent and commentator for CNBC, the financially focused a cable channel.

an also-ran.

Funny, it doesn't

The name is familiar. After all, this is a Honda.

And its beauty is natural. The almost perfect shape of the new Civic EX Sedan was formed by hours of wind tunnel tests.

The lines are so smooth that the wind hardly notices them. Much attention was paid to the space inside the car, however. There's more of it.

In fact, there's more car. Both the car length and wheelbase are longer. So the new Civic Sedan rides better.

A vastly improved suspension system contributes to the better ride. It's attached to a wider, stronger and more rigid body. A body that will last longer, too. Because more corrosion safeguards are built in.

You will find soft touches inside the car. The carpeting is plush and thick, even in the trunk. There are no sharp edges

anywhere. Everything's rounded and feels right. Seats are firm where they should be and supportive all over. Controls are easy to see and reach. And overhead a power operated moonroof glides open or tilts up for fresh air ventilation.

And it's quieter in there. Windows fit more flush than ever for less wind noise. Fewer holes had to be cut into the body for mechanical cables to pass through because there are very few cables. Silent electric wires power the instruments.

And it's safer in there. The doors now have stronger internal bracing. New seat belt designs keep the belts tighter when necessary. You can adjust the position of the upper belt.

The new Civic Sedan has an airbag on the driver's side.



look like a Civic.

Gold plated circuits assure its readiness. Like in all luxury cars.

Driving the car is yet another luxury. Rattles and squeaks don't exist. You feel in control. You sense immediately what the road is telling you through the power assisted steering.

Should your senses tell you to quickly stop the car, the four-wheel disc brakes complemented by our anti-lock braking

system help do just that.

The new engine produces a different sensation. Actually, the engine itself is sensational. It knows to breathe more air as it works harder to produce more power. Just like you would.

When you step on the accelerator, the engine computer directs valves inside each cylinder to open farther. That lets in more air and fuel from the fuel injection system. And makes more horsepower.

The valves don't open as wide during normal driving at slower engine speeds. Which makes for more efficiency.

The whole process is called variable valve timing, usually reserved for very expensive luxury cars. Which puts it right at home in our new luxury car.

Except for one word. After all, this is

a Civic. HONDA



Sport

The Last Shall Be First

A happy blend of whiz kids and free agents help Minnesota and Atlanta vault from the cellar to the World Series

By RICHARD CORLISS

They picked Cinderella for last place too, and she did all right. But even in a fairy tale, no one expects Prince Charming to be that ungainly lad who'd been kept in the cellar for the past three years.

The improbable is for fables; baseball, right now at least, is the art of the impossible. In a century of the sport, no team had vaulted in a single year from worst in its league to best. Last week two teams did. And over the weekend, the Minnesotta

Pittsburgh Pirates, with a core of fine young stars, got that now-or-never feeling this year. Why? Because slugger Bohly Bonilla se expected to become a zillionatre elsewhere this winter, and Most Valuable Player candidate Barry Bonds may walk newt October. Pittsburgh, in a modest TV market, certainly can't afford them both. So the bucks—and the Bucs—stop here.

In baseball, as in other businesses, two cardinal rules apply: be smart and be lucky. The postmodern era adds: but first you must be inent. If a franchise is bad enough long

enough, it gets to draft some good young talent (as the Braves did with Steve Avery, David Justice and John Smoltz). Then, if it is canny, it will trade one pricey player for two or three prospects (as the Twins did last year, losing Frank Viola to the Mets and gaining three blossoming pitchers in return). Finally, if fortune is kind, the team will find a few middle-income free agents ready for superior years (Atlanta's Terry Pendleton, Minnesota's Jack Morris and Chili Davis). The 162-game plan: get the kids before they cost too much and the veterans because they know so much. Well, it worked

In the American League championship, the Twins shrugged off Toronto in a fivegame series that for most TV viewers was overshadowed by a sorrier sporting spectacle on

capital Hill the Senators vs. the dodger. Truth to tell, the Al, snoozathon didn't need the Clarence Thomas hearings to upstage it a church social could have done the poly. Here, after all, were two teams from above the tunber line, pulping in synthetic and above the tunber line, pulping in synthetic projects that rande the games look like Brob-dingnagian billiards. Only one contest was close all the way. Only one rooting interest tickled fins' fancies: seeing the Twins earn their spot in besteball's unlikeliest infinale.

The Braves-Pirates clash promised more sparks. Attains had located a lode of bilthe character in its September pursuit and capture of favored Lus Angeles. It helped that everybody hated the damm longers, it didn't hour that Braves partisans arged the team on with toy toma-backs and a worre-band matter, which the hands and a worre-band matter, which the dammest mass spans since the Wavel, but the spans of the dammest mass spans nince the Wavel, but the dammest mass spans nince the Wavel, the Braves were high and

loose. All the Pirates' edgy swagger could not mute the magic—or solve the riddle of a brilliant Atlanta pitcher, as young and ageless as Lefty Grove.

Steve Avery is 21. Others guys his age are working the checkout counter or getting ill on the fraternity porch; he tossed, with wondrous poise and heat, two near perfect 1-0 games. In the second of these, when a single fat fastball would have snuffed the Brayes' dream, Avery gelded Pittsburgh on three singles and never allowed an opponent to reach second base. In the ninth inning Atlanta finally scored and the lad spent the game's last few, beautifully tense minutes in the dugout. Only then, as he watched reliever Aleiandro Pena flirt with catastrophe, did Avery look his age and less. Shivering under a black coverall in the Halloween weather, he peeked out like an



BRAVES . . . a boy wonder like ace hurler Avery

viewers was overshadowed by a BRAVES...a boy wonder like ace numer avery sorrier sporting spectacle on Capitol Hill: the Senators vs. the dodger. | anxious trick-or-treater in a Batman cape.

The following night, after he was declared the series Most Valuable Player. Avery got baptized in champagne he was barely old enough to purchase legally. And the Pirates, who carried the curse of being two sensons, were left to dwell on the melancholy baseball maxim. "Loxing hurts more than winning feels good." Maybe not this year, though. The

Maybe not this year, though. The Braves did become America's team, just like they said on TV, and the Twins happily recalled the secrets of their 1987 Serieswinning form—as they showed by mauling Atlanta, 5-2, in Game 1. Winning feels great, redemptive, to yesterday's lossers. And the giddiness is contagious. What are these guys doing in the Series'? Having for

For bringing the shock of joy back to baseball, both the Braves and the Twins deserve cheers. Or at least a toast. Bottoms up!—Reported by David Thigpen/New York



TWINS Middle-income free agent Davis faces . . .

Twins (last in the American League West in 1990) and the Atlanta Braves (cellar dwellers in the National League West for three seasons) played the first two games in the "Worst World Series."

Fans hoped it would be one of the best. Seven close games would offer a shiny showcase for two nicely matched teams that took a steep new route to the top. After a decade or so of balky, highly paid superstars, the Twins and Braves built their franchises on has-beens and gonna-bes. Call it postmodern baseball.

In the free-agent era, when players can sign with the highest bidder, owners find it tough to produce a consistent winner. Yes, the Oakland A's reached the Series the past three years. But a \$37 million payroll this season couldn't keep the dynasty from turning nasty. The A's limped and sulked, finishing II games behind the Twins.

The specter of free agency can make even a shrewd organization nervous. The

To protect the environment, we built an amazing new jet.



Amazing because it hits speeds up to 600 miles an hour. And amazing because its made out of male or hour and amazing because its made out of waiter fou see. Ithis new jet was developed by Lutthranse angieners as a revolutionary way to stip old paint off planes before repainting. Unlike the past, when conventional chemical stropers had to be used. Our new Aquastrip' eliminates all toxic wastle by premoving paint with high-speed toxic wastle by removing paint with high-speed sound. Aquastriping is another example of the kind of passion you'll find at Lutthransa. A passion that carries people around the world better than any other airline. And a passion that's taking better care of the world isself.

A passion for perfection.54



Lufthansa

USArrund Continental See your Trays Apent for details



Photograph by Chud Phillip



"The eyes have one language everywhere."

George Herber

True vision is without boundaries. So when the New York-based Project ORBIS developed a program to save or restore eyesight, they put a teaching hospital on an airplane and took it around the world.

On board are five Toshiba laptop computers. Not only to record surgical schedules, patient records, and lecture materials, but also to manage the flow of information between the aircraft, Project ORBIS headquarters and its offices throughout the world.

For Toshiba, it's one more chance to help all of us see a better tomorrow.

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Uninterruptible Power Supply Variable Speed

Drives

X-Ray Systems



Was he a scoundrel... or a saint?

James Michael Curley began life in the slums of Boston. Smart and ambitious, he charmed his way to four terms as mayor, four as congressman and one as governor of Massachusetts. To the city's Irish immigrants, he was a saint. To others he was a scoundrel who used political influence for his own gain. He was regularly investigated for corruption, and ran one campaign for mayor from jail. He won. Fifty years later he interrupted a mayoral term to do time in a federal penitentiary. And still the people thought of him as their champion. At his funeral. thousands turned out to salute a great charmer - and, many say, an incorrigible crook.

Watch Scandalous Mayor on The American Experience. hosted by David McCullough.

The American Experience

Monday, October 28 at 9 p.m. (ET) in most cities, on public television.

Made possible by Aetna.



Show Business

Mocking the Ethnic Beast

A sizzling young comedian draws on his roots to lampoon Latin stereotypes, but some Hispanics aren't laughing

By GUY GARCIA

preening for the camera in a white suit and Panama hat, an unctuous TV talkshow host named Agamemnon tries to prove his credentials as a Latin Lothario by reading letters from female viewers inviting him to "invade me, blockade me, dictate me." An amber-skinned transvestite named Manny the Fanny gyrates to a dance-club hit while recalling her Krazy Glue revenge on an unfaithful boyfriend. A punchy Peruvian ex-boxer, pressed to name a famous Hispanic, searches the blank canvas of his mind, "William Shakesperez," he intones, "He wrote Macho Do About Nothing and The Merchant of Venezuela.

All these cutting Hispanic stereotypes are the inventions of a writer-comedian-actor who is, perhaps surprisingly. Hispanic himself. They are characters in the play Mambo Mouth, a one-man tour de force created and performed by Colombianborn John Leguizamo, 27. Kaleidoscopic. hilarious and politically very incorrect. Mambo Mouth had a successful 35-week run off-Broadway earlier this year and won a 1991 Obic and Outer Critics Circle Award. Now a one-hour TV special based on the show will get the first of six airings on tino this Saturday

The seven sketches in Mambo Mouth (Leguizamo makes the transition from one to another by frenctically changing costumes behind a backlit serim while loudspeakers pump out a salsa beat) grew from improvisations that Leguizamo based on his family and friends and on images culled from TV

and films. "I drew on everything that was around me and put it together," he says, "I can only write something that touches me and amuses me, that I feel something about.

The material is a little too close to home for many Hispanics, who charge that Mambo Mouth perpetuates negative, sexist stereotypes. A female columnist in the Village Voice accused Leguizamo of promoting "refried machismo" and "woman bashing." The actor rejects the charge. "To some Latin peo-The actor rejects ple, we're not allowed to mock ourselves," he says, "I'm sunposed to be doing the Bill Costw-Brady Bunch syndrome. Leguizamo acknowledges, however, that his unflinching portrayals of Latin lowlifes, louts and losers can trigger a painful catharsis. "Latin culture is very subliminal. There's still a lot of self-hate. It's underneath this mat and rug hidden in the basement, and it's the beast that wants to come out and chop our heads off. I'm letting out a lot of monsters."

Leguizamo is, in fact, part

of a wave of young minority comedians who use laughter to lampoon ethnic and other stereotypes, often at the risk of offending fellow minorities. Damon and Keenen Ivory Wayans have widened the parameters of black humor on their TV show In Living Color, enacting such caricatures as dogmatic homeboys, burns and effeminate book reviewers. Stand-up comedian Tamavo Otsuki revs up her act by portraying the Japanese as greedy moneybags who discipline their children by evoking memories of the atom bomb. Such humor, argues Leguizamo, is an "exorcism" rooted in the liberating power of self-recognition.

In his sketch called "Crossover King," for example. Leguizamo satirizes Hispanies' desire to be accepted into the mainstream by playing a Latin who transforms himself into a pseudosamurai businessman. Eyes squinting behind thick spectacles. Leguizamo lectures members of an imaginary Hispanic audience on how they too "can be Latino-free" if they just work hard enough at being Japanese. "Our computer graphics project that after only six years in the crossover program. Tito could become Toshino," he explains, "the quiet, well-dressed, manicured, well-groomed, somewhat anal-retentive overachiever who is ready to enter the job market at the drop of a dollar." The sketch takes a slapstick twist when the Crossover King, suffering a relapse into his Latin self, suddenly starts dancing and shouting Spanish phrases

Born in Bogotá and raised in a working-class section of Queens, N.Y., Leguizamo discovered early that his talents could buy him protection from the streetwise youths who ruled the neighborhood. "They used to let me hang out with them because I would make them laugh." he recalls. After studying drama at New

York University, Leguizamo landed some supporting roles on TV's Miami Vice and soon moved on to movies. In Hollywood he has alternated between playing mama's boys (Casualties of War, Hangin' with the Homeboys) and baby-faced killers (Die Hard II, Regarding Henry).

Although his movie career is taking off. Leguizamo is not about to stop ruffling ethnic sensitivities with his comedy. He is hard at work on a follow-up to Mambo Mouth, a one-man show in which he will play six members of a half-Dominican, half-Colombian family who are attending a wedding. "I think it could be controversial," he says with an innocent smile. Its title: Spic-o-rama,

With reporting by Patrick E. Cole Los Angeles





Kaleidoscopic, hilarious and politically very incorrect: Leguizamo as his Mambo Mouth characters Manny the Fanny and Agamemnon

Behavior

When Can Memories Be Trusted?

The remembrance of things past can be a mysterious process, with realities and myths blending into a vivid picture

By ANASTASIA TOUFEXIS

ess than two weeks ago. Americans were spellbound before their television sets, watching Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas clash over their recollections of events a decade past. The Senate Judiciary Committee hearings are still fresh in our minds, but how many of us remember exactly what the two adversaries said, what they wore, the expressions on their faces and the tone of their voices? And 10 years from now, when we think back, how faithful will our memories be? Will we remember Hill's tears at one particularly painful disclosure of sexual harassment, and Thomas thumping the table as he decried the hearing as a high-tech lynching of an uppity black

Those with sharp memories will have oticed two errors in the preceding para-



graph: Hill's voice may have sometimes wavered, but she never cried, and Thomas may have thundered with his voice but never with his fist. Even if memory fails to retain these details, how many Americans will accurately retain the essence of the events?

Will our memories reflect the truth? Depchologists and lawyers are finding that more and more cases turn on the questtion of how reliable memory. Is Law November in Redwood City, Calif., Gorge Franklin was convected of killing an eightyear-old grif in 1967, the case was braced lamply on the estamony of his dampers of lamply and the statement of the playmark's murder for Joy years. This month in Pittsburgh, Steven Statzker's scheduled to gron trial for the 1975 feath shooting of John Mudd Sr. ANITA HILL said she could "vividly recall" specific instances in which she was sexually harassed by Clarence Thomas when she worked for him 10 years ago, even citing phrases he allegedly used at the time.

REPUBLICAN SENATORS
attacked Hill's credibility, in
part because her story
expanded and grew more
detailed with each telling.
But experts recognize that
recollections frequently
develop in this way, as one
memory elicits another.

Slutzker was charged after the victim's son, who was 5 when his father died, claimed he had a flashback memory of the murder.

Fueling the debate over the certainty of memory has been the parade of men and women-among them Roseanne Arnold and former Miss America Marilyn Van Derbur-with newly surfaced recollections of being sexually abused as children. Many of the victims are suing their alleged molesters, including parents, relatives and therapists, Paula Pfietle of Monroe, Wash., this spring received \$1.4 million from her church run school in settlement of her claim that a teacher repeatedly raped and sodomized her two decades ago. As is often the case with repressed memories, the events came flooding back during an emotional, evocative moment, For Pfiefle, it was while making love to her husband on their wedding night five years ago.

The validity of such memories has divided psychological and legal circles. "By and large, long-term memory is extremely credible," maintains Jill Otey, a Portland, Ore., attorney whose office receives five calls a week from women saying they have suddenly remembered childhood abuse. "I find it highly unlikely that someone who can remember what pattern was on the wallpaper and that a duck was quacking outside the bedroom window where she was molested by her father when she was four years old is making it up. Why in the hell would your mind do this?" Reflecting that faith, at least a dozen states since 1988 have amended their statute of limitations for bringing charges to allow for delayed discovery of childhood sexual abuse.

People—not to mention juries—place unwavering trust in the human ability to recall events, especially those that have had a strong emotional impact. But such confidence is often mitsplaced. "Our memory is not like a camera in which we get an accurate photograph," says psy-

HOW LONG-TERM MEMORIES ARE FORMED

Various components of an experiencedigitis, smalls, extrame—are
processed in the topocampu
and then stored in
different parts of the
formula, the
formula in the
formula

added to memory by the amygdala.

TWENTY YEARS after the fact, Elikeen Franklin-Lipsker suddenly remembered how her father murdered her eight-year-old childhood playmate. Her testimony led to his conviction last November.

A GLANCE FROM her own six-year-old daughter, who bears a striking resemblance to the murdered child, brought back scenes of the chilling event. Experts say emotional, evocative moments can often exhume long-buried memories.



chologist Henry Ellis of the University of New Mexico.

Consider the Challenger explosion. As with the assassination of John F. Kennedy, most people claim to remember where they were when they heard the news of the shuttle disaster. Ulric Neisser, a psychologist at Emory University, tested that assumption. The day after the 1986 accident he asked 106 students to write down how, when and where they learned the news. Three years later, he tracked down nearly half the group and asked them to describe their memories of the explosion. Though many claimed to recall it clearly, "often the memories were completely wrong," says Neisser. Many students said they had received the news from television, though they had actually heard it elsewhere.

Memory is a complicated physiological phenomenon that sonly slowly being deciphered. "Everything we are is based on what we are laught, experience and remember," says, neurosurgeon Howard Eisscherg of the Lubrestiy of Texa Medical Branch in Galveston. "Yet there's no universally accepted theory of how memory the complex of the complex

But other, more momentous events make a biochemical suppression in the brain, specifically in a middle portion known as the hippocampus. In fift them away permanently, the hippocampus in fift them away permanently, the hippocampus in the hippocampus of the hippocampus of the hippocampus of the sounds, smeller and sights—through a network of nerve cells to different areasor the brain—fifts awhole cascade of processes, physiological and chemical, that sensities the neurons to transmit messages. See the sounds of the hippocampus of the National Law Statistics of Health. The proper vimulus say, statistics of Health. The proper vimulus say,

a whift of a perfume or a glimpse of a familiar place, trips the relay, firing the neurons and bringing a past event to consciousness.

Disease, alcoholism or an injury to the bring many revent an experience from being imprinted into the neural network. The Central Park jugger has no memory of being attacked, say neurologists, not because she repressed the event but because her injured brain never had a chance to physically create the memory.

ne of the many controversies comcerning memory is how far back people can remember. I'V star Roseanne Arnold, for example, claims that she has a vivid memory of being sexually abused as an infant by her mother. This summer Tina Ulfrich. 36, at Chicago designrim executive. abruptly recalled images from her infancy of her grandfather sexually incolesting her which be changed her diapers. "I didn't have any words to describe the experience, so I began drawing my feelings," says Ulfrich, who has created 35 surreal pictures. But many researches, are skeptical of such early recall. Most people's carlics clear recollections date back to around age 4 or 5. Before that, they believe, the mind herent memory. "Under a year, a child doesn't have the mental structure to understand how events hang together," says Neisser, "I wouldn't gove you'a nickel for memory in the first year of life."

Mennoy's workings are equally complex on the psychological level. "We seek things in a context. We select what we observe, and then we may distort that for a purpose," says neutropsychiatrist. David. Spiegel of Sanford University. Events can be allered, even as they occur, simply through lack of attention. What is not seen, leaves of smelled will not register my the brain. For extending the second of the second of the smelled will not register my the brain. For extending the second of the second of the smelled will not register my the brain. For extending the second of the second of the smelled will not faste any memory of him if she did not consider him appealing.

Experiences can be altered as they are hauled out of memory. Remembering is an act of reconstruction, not reproduction. During the process, normal gaps and missing details often get filled in. When Senators asked law professor Joel Paul to describe how Hill sounded years ago when she first told him about being sexually harassed by Thomas, Paul hesitated and then said Hill had sounded embarrassed. "He could have been falling back on a scripted memory of how he would expect someone to act in that circumstance." explains psychologist Douglas Peters of the University of North Dakota. On the other hand, experts are not the least bit disturbed because Hill's story grew and became more detailed as the hearings proceeded. Remembering incidents is an accretion process, psychologists say, and one image evokes another.



PARTICIPATING IN a workshop involving self-hypnosis. Tina Ulirich, a design executive and artist, had a flashback of images from her own infancy in which she was sexually molested by her grandfather.

WHILE OTHERS, including actress Roseanne Arnold, have claimed to have similar recollections from the first year of life, experts say youngsters under age 1 lack the mental structure to form a coherent memory.

Memory integrates the past with the present desires, fatuitosis Fears even moud can shade the recollection. People have a tendency to suppress unpliesant experiences and embellish events to make themselves feed more important or attractive. "Some of us fillect to see ourselves in a costering in the other conserves psychologic Elizative. The present of the present

when we really didn't, that we were nicer to

our kids than we really were. Loftus, co-author of Witness for the Defense (St. Martin's Press; \$19.95) and an expert witness on memory in the cases involving the McMartin Preschool, Oliver North and the Hillside Strangler, speculates that such prestige-enhancing revisionism by Thomas could be one explanation for why his memory differs so radically from Hill's Thomas is a "rigid person who insisted on the prerogatives of his position," observes Emory's Neisser: such people can be "good repressers" of unpleasant memories. As for Hill. Loftus suggests that it is possible she unconsciously confused some past experiences. "Could she have gotten the information elsewhere and created this story?" asks Loftus.

uggestion is a potent disrupter of truth, as faun Plaget once notice. The renowned child psychologist street that for former fortical unitarities that the properties of the properties of the truth on his incringe when he was two years old. But years later, the retend number of the purents a letter saying she had made up the incident to impress the remployers. The young Plaget had heard the story so often that he had createaths wow memory of the event.

In the same vein, witnesses can be led satray—intentionally or inadverentity—by the questions posed by police or lawyer. If you ask a person who has just witnessed an accident how fast the green car was going when it slammed into the parked UPS truck, you have said it was a green ear." In the property of the property

Alsa, there is no easy way to distinguish fact and fletion in many memories. The best method is to find corroborating evidence, from winnesses or written records, say, diaries or hospital charts, that can document the event. Years from now, videotapes of the Hill-Thomas-bearings may verighte sights and sounds of their lestimony, but the heart of their dispute is likely to remain unresolved. Whates memory hild the washington, Barbara Dolan Chicago and D. Blabe Malisans/San Francisco.

Danger in the Speed Trap

Are state troopers getting cancer from radar guns?

S peeding motorists have long lived in fradar gun. Now it turns out that the troopers themselves may be at risk. Last week the Connecticut state police banned the use of hand-held speed detectors after three officers filed claims saying long-term exposure to the guns gave them cancer.

The Connection action, the first of its kind by a state police department, brings to light a controversy that has been brewing quelety in the law-enforcement community for more than a year. Across the U.S. dozson-focosy how how with radar games day in and day out have developed cancers of suspicious origin. Two California troopers was regularly rested the gan on their lap develped cancers on their legs. Another, with jammed the gan between his legs, got testical cancer. See result of lifest have developed rare cancers of the eye and eyeld—appartually from popularing the radar units too

While the cases could be coincidental, there is an easy way for the troopers to avoid radar exposure: by simply mounting the transmitter on the roof of the police car, away from the officers. But the issue underscores a broader debate about the dangers



Connecticut has banned the devices

of long-term exposure to radiation across the entire electromagnetic spectrum. Like power lines and computer screens radia guns are manufactured to meet exposure standards set by government and industry. Yet power lines have been linked to high-in-cidences of cameer, and questions have been raded about the safety of computers. Some scientists—including those advising the Bush Administration—have deminsed the risks, and the government has been slow of the first fine and the government has been slow for find further studies. Now state troops or are joining those urging researchers to step out in the property of the p

Cancer from Germs

A stomach bug is linked to gastric tumors and ulcers

C ould cancer be an infectious disease? In some cases the answer is at least partly yes. Viruses are thought to play a role in liver and uterine cancer and some forms of lymphoma. Now comes the news that bacteria may actually be a major culprii in the world's second most common malignancy: stomach cancer, which afflicts an estimated 700,000 a year worldwide.

In separate studies of 130,000 and 6,000 people, reported in the New England Journal of Medicine, researchers from Stanford and Kuakini Medical Center in Honolula found that people infected with the bacterium Helicolucer pilor were three to six fitness as likely to develop stomach cancer over a 20year period as those who were not infected, "This is not just a little risk were talking about," says Stanford's Julie Plassonnet though she points out that not everyone infected with the bacterium develops cancer, Indeed, the bug, which may enter the body through dirty water or human contact, is extremely common it is present in the gut of SW's of Americans and of up to SW's of people in power regions of Asia and Latin Americans, caused by the bacterium, combines with other risk factors, including a salty diet low in fresh fruit and vegetables, to cause the cancer.

The netarious II. pylori has also been linked to ulcers and gastritis—inflammation of the stomach lining. Parsonnet and others believe that people with chronic duodenal ulcers should consider a course of

antibioties to knock out the bug rather than rely on costly medications like Tagamet and Zantac, which treat the symptoms, not the cause, Meanwhile, studies are under way in Colombia and Mexicot or determine if a similar strategy of antibioties could play a role in cutting the world's incidence of stomach causer. I have been a support of the world's incidence of stomach causer.

Milestones

BORN. To Chris Evert, 36, retired tennis star, and her husband Andy Mill, 38, former Olympic downhill skier: their first child, a son; in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Name: Alexander James. Weight: 8 lbs. 6 oz.

MARRIED. George Will, 50, prim conservative syndicated columnist and television news-commentator; and Mari Maseng, 37, former Reagan speechwriter and White House communications director who now heads a Washington public relations firm; he for the second time, she for the first; in Chevy Chase, Md.

NOMINATED. William Barr, 41, to be U.S. Attorney General; by President Bush; in Washington, Barr has been Acting Attorney General since August, when Dick Thornburgh resigned to run for a U.S. Senate seat from Pennsylvania. While director of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1976-77, and Bush met Barr, who was working as a CIA staff officer. As Deputy Attorney General, Barr wrote a controversial 1989 memorandum that provides legal justification for FBI agents to seize fugitives from justice outside the U.S. without permission of the country involved. Barr won the President's praise for his handling of a hostage crisis at a federal prison in Alabama last August.

SBITINECED. Mehyp Paisley, 67, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy; to four years in prison and \$50,000 in fines; on charges of comparing to defrand the first government, taking bribes and their di government property in connection with the Pentagon procurement seandal in the 1908s; in Akesandria, Va. Paisley admitted this hald taken nearly \$500,000 in takshade the procurement property in the paid taken nearly \$500,000 in takshade Corp, and Modalal Ltd. in return for secord Pentagon data that would help those companies securive weapons contracts.

RECOVERING. Cecil Andrus, 60. four-term Democratic Governor of Idaho; from a possible broken nose, cuts and two black eyes, after being kicked by his mule, Ruthic, while on an elk-hunting trip in the central Idaho wilderness; in Boise.

DIED. Erneal ("Tomessee Ernie") For 27 a nurealtar, piece pulling country singer whose recording of Stateon Tiess. Meet Travis posent to the workingman, was one of the biggest-selling hits of the 1958s; in Reston, Ya. While Ford's first high success was the country single Mult Taurin 11949, to especially lowed singing hymra and spirituals and sold more than 24 million gosterones. Heat of the television variety shows in the 1958s and 168s, Frant pipely the down-dome-philosopher-spouting whitesiens like "I'm as nervous as a long-tailed can in a room full of rocking long-tailed can be a room full of rocking long-t



It's a good time of year to visit is here in Lynchburg. Six we hope to see you soon

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right for whiskey making (it's ironfree), he built his distillery alongside. Of course, that meant sharing the property with a few ducks. But to have a source of water this treasured, we've always been glad to stop for friends who value it as much as we do.

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13

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Asia's Hot **New STAR**

The BBC takes aim at CNN on a satellite-TV service

adies and gentlemen of Asia, let's rock 'n' roll!" That clarion call is changing the face of television from Kuwait to Taiwan. It comes from STAR-TV, the first pan-Asian satellite TV service, launched last April by Hong Kong billionaire Li Kashing, STAR currently beams four channels of programming to 38 countries across the world's most populous region. One channel is an Asianized MTV; the others are devoted to sports, entertainment and Chinese-language fare.

Last week, in a preview of its most ambitious venture yet, STAR began offering hourly news reports from the BBC. In November those newscasts will become the centerpiece for a 24-hour news channel, run by the BBC World Service. STAR's allnews service, like its other channels, will be available free (in contrast to CNN, its chief rival); the operation is trying to support itself entirely from advertising.

Because STAR can be seen only by people who have their own satellite dishes (or a cable or microwave hookup linked with a dish), it is available primarily to the affluent. About half a million households are now able to receive the service, a number expected to grow to 4½ million by 1993. But several Asian governments have launched campaigns to prevent STAR from introducing foreign programming and ideas to people long insulated by state-run TV. The government of Malaysia has announced a ban on private dishes, to protect its large Muslim population from contagion by "undesirable values." A committee appointed by the government of India argued early this year that satellite TV exposes people to "foreign perceptions and alien values." Still, STAR has already overtaken CNN as India's foreign-programming source of choice.



Dish fare: everything from news to MTV



Cinema

A Ruthless Raider's Romance

OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY

Directed by Norman Jewison; Screenplay by Alvin Sargent

By RICHARD SCHICKEL

D oughnuts, dogs and money. According to Lawrence Garfield, better known as Larry the Liquidator, they are the three things everyone loves in a straightforward, uncomplicated way. Monev, of course, has the advantage over the others in that it is fat-free and cannot poop on the living room rug

Blessings on cynical Larry, whom tiny, manic Danny DeVito was born to play. He may be the scourge of conservatively managed corporations that labor under the delusion that the business of business is to manufacture something useful, even to be something useful as a provider of jobs and community stability. Larry's insistence that business's only business is to maximize shareholder profits may be reprehensible to most people. But he's a bubbling fount of zestful zingers, nasty but never less than half truthful, and often entirely so. Most important, DeVito's Larry is the power source for Other People's Money-a little C-cell that somehow manages to keep a handsome, reasonably pertinent but sometimes draggy movie sparking along. Jerry Sterner's off-Broadway comedy

turned a lot of weary Wall Street players into enthusiastic playgoers two seasons ago. It managed to disapprove of Larry while giving him all the best lines and, in the end, the winning position in a classic '80s confrontation: ruthless raider vs. responsible corporation. Larry's target of opportunity is staid, gently paternalistic New England Wire & Cable, Only one man could possibly be its CEO, and, sure enough, Gregory Peek has the job. His "Jorgy" Jorgenson is as stiff as Larry is slinky, a man who's all stature and no smarts. Luckily his longtime lover and assistant (Piper Laurie) has a daughter, Kate, who is building a career as a brilliant Wall Street lawyer. If anybody can save management, she can.

Or so we're supposed to think. The trouble is that Penelope Ann Miller, who is a lovely ingenue (see The Freshman), is entirely wrong for the role. The plot requires Larry to fall in love with Kate at first sight, shrewdly seeing what neither she nor anyone else does: that she is his soul mate in amorality. Eventually Kate is supposed to find this very sexy. But such tough-minded complexity Miller cannot find within herself. So what was once a cheerful amorality play turns into a much more conventionally moral movie-complete with a "nicer" ending than its source.

Still DeVito's developing Napoleon complex is fun to watch, and Haskell Wexler's cinematography-part semidocumentary, part burnished formalism-is entrancing. It is a serious defect of our movies, our fictions in general, that they generally ignore what may be the central. and is surely the most entertaining, drama in American life: high-stakes corporate wrangling. So here's one proxy cast in favor of Other People's Money, whose managers have at least risked opening a new product line in these difficult times.

Uneasy Riders

LILA by Robert M. Pirsig; Bantam; 409 pages; \$22.50

By PAUL GRAY

t has been 17 years since Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance went vroomvroom into bookstores, and it has not stopped selling since. Millions of readers have followed Phaedrus, Robert M. Pirsig's enigmatic narrator-hero, on his physical journey through the American West and his inner trip toward a mystical understanding of the universe. Although it appeared in 1974, Zen was and remains one of the most impressive literary expressions of the countercultural '60s.

Phaedrus is back in Lila. Pirsig's seeond book, this time alone on a boat, wending his way leisurely down a water path that originated in Lake Superior and may bring him to Florida or even Mexico. He had hoped that all this free, undisturbed time would allow him to sort through the thousands of note eards he has assembled for his next book, tentatively titled Metaphysics of Quality or Metaphysics of Value. And this book, as Phaedrus describes it, sounds interesting: an attempt to find some middle path between scientists and mystics, between those who swear by facts alone and those who dismiss them as irrelevant. He helieves there must be a direct conduit between the physical and spiritual, and gropes toward an initial formulation: "All life is a migration of static patterns of quality toward Dynamic Quality '

The road toward coherence is clearly going to be long and demanding. But with his boat docked on the Hudson River a hundred or so miles north of New York



Pirsig: trying to find a middle path

City. Phaedrus sees a woman in a bar and observes, "You just sort of felt instantly right away without having to think twice about it what it was she did best." Eventually, a good many drinks later. Lila Blewitt accompanies Phaedrus back to his boat for the night.

And she doesn't leave the morning after either. Although she is chiefly seen being grumpy and disagreeable. Lila strikes Phaedrus as a person of great mystery, a puzzle that his new way of looking at reality may be able to solve. He cuts back on his thoughts about his book and starts doing field research on one, overriding question: "Does Lila have Quality?"

Lila might work a lot better than it does if Phaedrus made this matter a little more interesting to the reader as well. But as this mismatched pair drifts southward, the skipper's attention is frequently distracted from Lila and his new project. For one thing. Phaedrus has come down with a bad case of EJS, or Erica Jong syndrome: the compulsion to write a second book dwelling on the fame one has achieved with a first book. "Sex and celebrity," he muses, "Before Phaedrus got his boat and cleared out of Minnesota he remembered ladies at parties coming over to rub up against him A teenage girl squealing in cestasy at one of his lectures."

For another. Phaedrus spends much time recording his perceptions of nearly everything he sees around him, and these insights often seem less original than he believes they are. During a stopover in Manhattan, he looks down from the balcony of his hotel room: "... YEEOW!! ... Way down there the cars were like little ladybugs. They were yellow, most of them. and they crawled along slowly, just like bugs. The yellow ones must be taxis. They moved so slowly." So, for that matter, does Phaedrus' narrative pace. Far too much of Lila proceeds like this: "Then she came in the door. Sad. She was really looking old. She used to be a real looker. Getting fat too. Drinking too much beer. She always did like her beer. She better take care of herself,"

Such passages will probably not bother members of the Pirsig cult. Gurus are supposed to talk funny and are always deeper than they seem. But the uninitiated may have a hard time making much sense out of Phaedrus' attempt "to go all the way back to fundamental meanings of what is meant by morality." At moments like this. Phaedrus resembles someone hacking away at a flat rock and wondering if he will come up with the wheel.

The Art Of Memory

WILD SWANS: THREE DAUGHTERS OF CHINA by Jung Chang Simon & Schuster; 524 pages; \$25

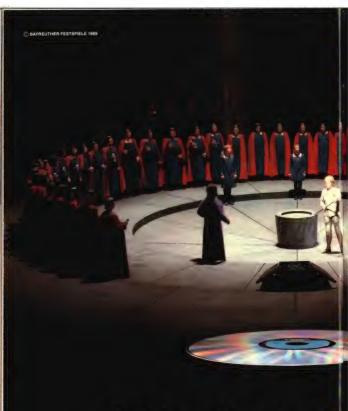
By HOWARD G. CHUA-EOAN

rom generation to generation, families wander through clouds of shared images, miasmas of memory, occlusions of oral remembrances. What is recalled of clan history is imprecise, simply because the stories take on shapes imposed by each teller. Sometimes, however, a family will be

be able to re-create the past with a precision that makes the parrative virtually incontestable, a true copy of what has gone before. That is the nature of Jung Chang's mesmerizing memoir. With a calm that suggests infallibility, she tells the story of her mother and her maternal grandmother and, by doing so, makes visible, intimate and immediate the pain and horror that are cloaked in the silence of China's recent

For a people who pride themselves on three millenniums of civilization, the Chinese have perfected the art of forgetting. Mao Zedone once said he wanted the Chinese people to be a blank sheet of paper on which he could write anything he pleased. Throughout history, the Chinese have often obliged their rulers by volunteering to be such tabulae rasae. "Yes, that was a bad lucky, and an aunt, an uncle or a cousin will spell," "Yes, we suffered much," "No, let us not talk about it." The responses are the same, whether the period involved is the civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists that embroiled the country in the '30s and '40s, or the epic struggle against Japanese invaders, or the chaotic Cultural Revolution. Notions of the past exist, but when tales are told they are often without context. Exotic ancestresses mince through the background on bound feet: pig-tailed great-grandfathers take to ship for lands of greater promise. What was it that they fled?

Chang does not attempt complicated sociological explanations. She simply tells stories and anecdotes, in straight chronological order, with little contrivance, providing real-life fables as open-ended answers to the puzzles of 20th century China. All this takes the form of a spectacular adventure traced from Chang's 19th century



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With one voice: Chang and her mother

Hild Nouros is not entriely Change Scot, p., but the makes it so. By beginning long before she was born, her vage becomes that of her grandmother and mother, before finally becoming her own. One can almost hear the older somen whisepering in her ear. telling Chang exactly what their lives were like. And so the narraritee hecomes that of one woman evolving through Chan's tumultuous past century, surviving war. famine, the conscious and unconsisuous cruelities of parents and the viessitudes brought on by uncontrollable political forces

While the women are impressive, one of the finest and most tragic images in Chang's book is that of her father, a self-sacrificing Communist official who denied his family party privileges as his part in an attempt to establish cgalitarianism in the country. (At one point Chang's mother complained to him, "You are a good Communist but a rotten husband!" Her father only nodded. saving he knew.) He is swept away by the Cultural Revolution, But not before one supreme act of courage. Asked to praise so-called good officials by writing an adu-Chang's father rethreat of beatings from Maoist thugs. His wife

pleaded, "What is a poster compared to a life?" He answered, "I will not sell my soul."

Faken in pieces, Chang's narrative can be pressig. But in its entirety, the author achieves a Dickensian tone with detailed portraits and intimate remembrances, with colorful minor characters and intricate yet fascinating side plots. There is a Chinese art of lorgetting, Wild Swans is proof that there is an art of memory as well.

If you're dying to see all 16 games, 443 penalties, 1521 grunts, 6236 bonejarring hits and every single "Hi, Mom," this show is for you.



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HBO

100' Impression Office on All agranaments 1660 is a speciment recommend and happens to thomas the Office in

Southern Pine

JOE by Larry Brown Algonquin; 345 pages; \$19.95

arette. Then, let's see, yeah, here's half a can of Coke left on the table, room temperature, no more fizz. Slug of Coke, swallow of whiskey, same again, Breakfast. Joe Ransom, at 40-some, is getting too old for this. He bosses a gang that poisons tracts of serub forest with herbicide, so that

old for this, He bossees a gang that poissons tracts of scrub forest with herbicide, so that the land can be planted with fast-growing pine. That's days, Nights, he drinks, bar fights, gambles, cats around, aggravates the local cops. In between he cruises the Mississippi back roads in an old pickup, drinking beer from a big cooler.

He's a good man, generous, hog-on-ice independent, cheerful in a wry sort of way, more than halfway decent. But his life is coming apart. His wife has left him, of course, though his dog, a surty pit-hull cross called "dog," small d, has stayed, He has done some penitentiary time, for cop fighting, and won't be too surprised to find himself jugged again. His pickup truck

needs a new transmission. So does he Brown, a onetime Mississippi fireman who reinvented himself a few years ago as a talented fiction writer in the whiskevish, rascally Southern tradition of Faulkner and Erskine Caldwell, earned high praise for a couple of books of short stories. Facing the Music and Big Bad Love, and a novel. Dirty Work. The new novel is clear, simple and powerful, and it is great, rowdy fun to read. Brown balances his fund but unsentimental portrait of Joe Ransom with stinging sketches of a weed-tough young white-trash boy named Gary, who tags atter Joe, and of Gary's evil father, a human scorpion named Wade. If anyone doubted it, Flem Snopes lives. By John Skow

ENVIRONMENTAL



A GREENHOUSE FOR ALL SEASONS

Anna Edey's concern for the environment and caring for the world's hungry prompted her to devise a non-polluting, cost-effective method to grow food anywhere on earth.

The Solviva Solar Greenhouse on Martha's Vineyard provides year-round fresh produce without heating fuel, external power or toxic chemicals.

"People think it sounds too good to be true," says Edey, who designed this first-of-its-kind greenhouse.

Since 1983, Edey has been producing more than 30 varieties of vegetables and edible flowers and selling many of them to area restaurants. "The greenhouse turned out to be four times more productive and profitable than I expected," Edey notes happily.

No oil or gas is consumed. Instead, the body heat of 100 chickens and 30 angora rabbits helps keep the indoor temperature to a minimum of 44°F.

Solar power generates enough energy to warm 4,500 gallons of stored water and run circulating fans and pumps. Vents at the top and bottom of the greenhouse prevent overheating without additional fans.

Edey now teaches others how to build year-round greenhouses — even in cities. The Solviva garden proves that healthy food can be grown in any climate, without depletting natural resources or creating hazardous waste. Edey stresses, "This needs to become the norm, rather than the exception."

All Environmental Activists featured in this series are recognized with a \$2,500 donation to their cause.



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THEY'LL THINK YOU HAVE A SPY

COMPANY PROFILE

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Design

Saying No to Yo Heave Ho

A novel prototype takes much of the backache, barked knuckles and manpower out of traditional sailing

hole in the water into which you pour money. And effort. And time. The surprise is only that the description has remained apt for so long. While there have been countless improvements in boating equipment, the sailboat, especially the basic 30to 40-ft, cruising craft, has not changed much in the past 20 years. Nor has it had the full-scale design overhaul that might be expected for a relatively expensive sport. where as many as eight people work simultaneously at complicated tasks.

Finally, a group of entrepreneurs has made a dramatic effort to build a boat of



the future that is radically different from those of the past, involving a lot less voheave ho. The fruit of their efforts is the Amoco Procyon, a \$1.5 million, 65-ft, luxury vessel, built of space-age materials, that demands one-third the crew of an equivalent-size traditional yacht. The Procyon is currently cruising down the U.S. East Coast in a bid to spark interest in its arsenal of design changes, which add up to the automation of a labor-intensive sport

The total saving in terms of muscle power and barked knuckles is impressive. Despite its size, two people can rig the sails of the Program in about five minutes: normally, readying a boat this large can take half an hour for a crew of eight. Slick aerodynamic design and a hydraulically powered keel let the Procvon sail at speeds of up to 15 knots; roughly 15% faster than a conventionally designed boat of comparable size. Automatic winches furl and unfurl

he sardonic definition of a sailboat is a | the Procyon's Keylar mainsail and jib horizontally, at a finger's touch, without human assistance. The unique, sculptured boom eliminates the need for much of the equipment required on standard boats. There are two sets of controls-helms, winch buttons, wind and direction gauges-to allow the skipper to steer from either side of the vessel.

Visually, the most dramatic departure is the 90-ft. bipod mast. Stretching 20% taller than an ordinary mast on a yacht this size, it looks something like a seven-story wishbone straddling the boat. Made of lightweight carbon-fiber, it replaces the familiar-and bulky-pole-and-support system midships, for a better airflow onto the mainsail. The height of the newly designed structure allows the boat to carry 25% to 30% more sail for greater speed. Moreover, it is movable and hinged at the deck so that the entire assembly can be raised and lowered

The Procyon is self-tacking: as the wind pushes the jib sail in a new direction, its hardware slides along a track located on the deck, forward of the cockpit, without needing any special attention from captain or crew. Underneath it all is a 13,000-lb. winged keel, which can be moved by hydraulic power from a vertical down position to as much as a 25° slant to either side. That and a two-ton waterballast system greatly improve the vessel's stability.

The yacht sleeps eight in three private cabins with every creature comfort: carpeted floors. TV and VCR, two bathrooms with showers and a roomy galley. It can be outfitted with a harness-and-pulley mechanism, so that people with handicaps can sail the boat and move easily above and below deek

The Procvon is a one-of-a-kind prototype developed partly with money and materials from the Amoco Chemical Co.: it will be put up for sale when it reaches Fort Lauderdale, its final destination, But its creators are honeful that many of the innovations it incorporates can be offered on smaller boats with less imposing price tags, "In the future you'll see bipod masts and carbon-fiber construction all over," says Olaf Harken, co-founder of Wisconsin's Harken Yacht Equipment, the world's second largest manufacturer of boat hardware, and a driving force behind the Procyon. "The benefits are so substantial." Push-button sailing, anyone? -By Elizabeth Rudulph. Reported by Betty Satterwhite Sutter/New York



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Listen to the Lion

Even with a masterly new album, will Ireland's eccentric Van Morrison gain the success he has long deserved?

By JAY COCKS

ell me something," Bruce Spring-steen asked a while ago. "How come every year or so there's a new Van Morrison record, and every time it's great. and every time no one pays attention? Why

Good question. And there are some easy answers. Morrison is too demanding-an eccentric performer who is likely to sing his best songs with his back turned. Too personal. Too unpredictable. Not quite presentable. And way too spiritual.

But Morrison does not make easy music, and he deserves more than easy answers. Especially now, when he has just released a new album, a 21-song, two-CD. 96-min, masterpiece, Hynnis to the Silence (Polydor), that has actually crept onto the Billboard charts. It's no threat to Guns N' Roses, mind you, but at least it has made a showing. There's even a rumor that it's get-

ting played on the radio. Springsteen's question still pertains. however, even in the midst of these glad tidings. Morrison has been making music for more than a quarter-century, since he left his native Belfast in 1961 to sing R, and B, to G.Ls stationed in Germany. He fronted a fine Beatles-era band called Them, then went solo and traveled to America. There he flirted with the mainstream before recording Astral Weeks in 1969, an album that set what was to be, for him, a more or less unvarying pattern: wild record, wildeved reviews, loval but limited audience. Since then, he has wandered in the U.S., England and Ireland (where he now lives) but has never had a commercial breakthrough commensurate with his talent.

Even Bob Dylan, Morrison's only serious rival as a prickly, personal songwriter, has enjoyed bouts of superstardom during his perpetual period of transition. Morrison, whether singing on the bright side of the road or deep from the heart of his dark and beautiful vision, does not hold out a helping hand to an audience. Reaching down into himself seems more important to him than reaching out

He extends himself only to express himself. Alone among rock's great figures-and even in that company he is one of the greatest-Morrison is adamantly inward. And unique. Although he freely crosses musical boundaries-R, and B, Celtie melodies, jazz. rave-up rock, hymns, down-and-dirty blues-he can unfailingly be found in the same strange place: on his own wavelength

For anyone interested in getting serious about Morrison (no casual listeners need apply), his new set can be heartily recommended as a good way to start an obsession. Hymns focuses and redefines Morrison's themes over his long career, rather like a museum retrospective already in progress. It dips deep into autobiography. spiritual speculation and blues mythology for its themes.

There are moments when Morrison can inflect a lyric like Mose Allison, other times

Still crossing musical boundaries but staying on his own strange wavelength; the Belfast cowboy on a sojourn in the early 1970s, right, and today

when he can spin out a blues line like John Lee Hooker. It's a daft and reckless mix, but Morrison makes it work through sheer force of spirit, what he once called, in a memorable sone, the "inarticulate speech of the heart." His rhythms are irresistible. his bries like an amalgam of Yeats, Kerouac and Chuck Berry. The Irish tenor John Mc-Cormack said what distinguishes an important voice from a good one is the indescribable but crucial quality that he termed "the varrrrragh." The yarrrrragh, critic Greil Marcus points out, is "a mythic incantation

To Morrison [it is] the gift of the muse and the muse itself.

You can hear Morrison courting this muse in the Pentecostal growls and incan-

tations of Listen to the Lion on his 1972 album Saint Dominic's Preview, or personifying it on his new album in Village Idiot. whose protagonist "wears his overcoat in the summer And short sleeves in the winter time" but who is nourished by some secret spiritual serenity: "Don't you know he's onto something . . . / Sometimes he looks so happy. As he goes strolling by."

Like this sainted idjot, Morrison seems to be sustained by some spiritual essence. He also shares with the idiot a contempt for catering to anyone, a disdain for superficial cool Morrison, 46, looks like a cross between a pull adder and a pub keeper. and will never seem beguiling in a video. As he sings about his boyhood, weaving references to Sidney Bechet and Hank Williams into a tune that draws on the

hymn Just a Closer Walk with Thee, it's obvious he is only trying to keep a clear through-

line to living memory. That connection is all that's important, and once achieved and maintained, it needs no gift wrapping. No major showbiz showmanship. No kissing up to MTV, no interviews in the



press. Morrison is his own best reporter and interpreter, as he makes plain on the chiding Why Must I Always Explain: "Well it's out on the highway and it's on with the show Always telling people things they're too lazy to know It can make you crazy, veah it can drive you insane . . Some listeners might be tempted to say

this Belfast cowboy-as the Band's Robbie Robertson once called him in a song-is, in fact, a little mad. But if so, his is a fine madness. Morrison asks his own questions ("Can you feel the silence?") and provides his own answers ("[We] carried on dreamine in God"). Those very dreams are the songs he shares. His music is a perpetual state of grace.

UR TEETH

INTERPLAK



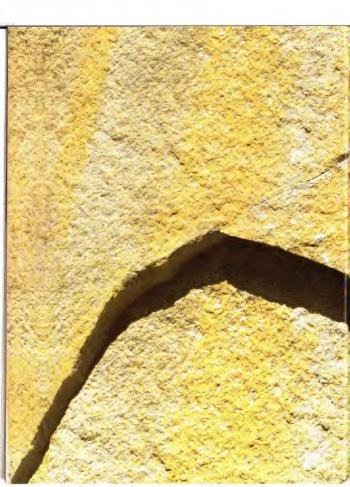


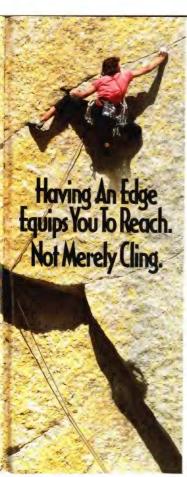
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Theater

Candy Box

ON BORROWED TIME

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

An hardful of actors have enough boxoffice clout to get produced pretty much any show they want to appear in. One in George C. Soch, who last came to Broadway in 1986 as an aging, dereite Huck Fran Soch and the Soch and the Soch and the state of the Soch and the Soch and the lateral Society and the Society and the Jameilse custs works and mock-florec beneoclence, in a sentimental 1988 connecly format adout an old man's battle of wists with Mr. Brink. Sout's new role may be at the Opposite end of the emotional spectrum of the south of the south of the south of the the South of the control of the control of the Mr. Brink. Sout's new role may be at the opposite end of the emotional spectrum



C. St. L. L. S.

from his last, but it prompts the same question: Why this play?

One answer: On Borrowed Time, which Scott also directed (moving its era from the edgy late 1930s to the innocent-seeming years before World War I), is a splendid vehicle for the winsome tricks of a veteran cast. Teresa Wright, whose 1942 Oscar for Mrs. Miniver makes Scott's 1970 award for Patton seem recent, flutters and flusters as the grandmother. Bette Henritze whinnies and hectors as an interfering aunt. Conrad Bain wheedles and soothes as the family doctor. In Scott's willest staging, he. Bain, and George DiCenzo test whether death has been suspended by circling around a poisoned housefly like slow-motion Marx Brothers. No one gets more laughs than Nathan Lane as Mr. Brink, slowly igniting as his timetable is thwarted.

The inescapable problem is the plays' candy-box presentiation of mortal agony as a penceful, painless passing into a warm yel-low light, followed by a resumption for cternity of one's former games and rituals. Save intuities of medical candor, this is a vapid insult to anyone struggling with the real problem of mortality. Perhaps Scott. 64, finds this mainty reassuring, But what a pin't to waste his gifts on piffle.

VIEW POINTS

TELEVISION

No Hits but Plenty of Bobbles

Let us stupon the mound and rell said stories of the death of NET. WORK BASEBAL Case, the talls begins, septia al shorping \$5 list little from the right to telecast major league games for four years. Now, after sustaining huge losses from last year's abhereviated post-season, the network seems to wish the sport would just go away. Season, the network seems to wish the sport would just go away. Regular-senson telecasts have been reduced to a meager handful, Pregame shows during the league championship series were entirely eliminated. to minimize the ratings damage. The games them-selves have featured such distractions as Andrea Joyce and Lesdey Visser roaming the stands for human-interest angles (and a fewere tra female viewers). The camerawork has been solid, but the announcing ust adequate. Play-by-play veteran Jack Buck bubbles

too many easy chances. (Was it a strike or a checked swing? Watch the ump, not Jack.) Tim McCaiver, his partner in the booth, knows his stuff but tends to babble. And ratings, for all but the final two games, were down once again. Somewhere Red Barber is weening.



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The Bells Ring Now, Tony

Here in one neat—not to say lovely—package is the essence of why CTD boxed seven as hlessing. FORTYPARS: THEARTISTRY OF TONY BENNETT (Columbial Legacy) is a four-disc retrospective of one of the world's best song stylists. Not an act of autohagingraphy. Bee the current Barbors Striesandset. In its 87-tune panorama showcases a singer who is as gracious with a melody as he is generous with his collaborators. Sinatra may supply more drama.

generous with his collab

Cole may have been cooler, but no one can get to the quick of a lyric with the easy emotion of Bennett. The selections range from the pop-heavy The Boulevard of Broken Dreams (1950) through some surprises (a swinging, chullient 1967 version of Al Jolson's Keep Smiling at Trouble) to 1989's high and handsome When Do the Bells Ring for Me. It the material is lacking, as in Song from "The Oscar, Bennett can raise it with a combination of precise technique and personal commitment. If the song is solid, he'll enhance it with openhearted skill. The touchstone of his gift is simplicity, so then let it be said, simply, this Forty Years sampling is glorious.

OPERA

Wagner in Slo-Mo

Can the that the Holo Grail was really in Japan? American the are artist Rober Wilson seems to think so. For the Zurich Opern, Wilson has conjured up a LOHEMGINH that is fair removed from Wagner's real not Barbant. The compuser's scenario is full of feutal warfare and kinghtly swortplay. But Wilson, whose career has included such measurizing efforts as Entirelia on the real has a superior of the state of the state of the state of titudarly the use of arms and hunds. So this is state of the banks of the River Scheldi are huge, gradually shifting columns of the like its relative to Wilson's dramatic coming that the prolifies, it is a tribute to Wilson's dramatic coming that the production is a striking success. The stylized motion and lighting intensity the visceral excitement in the score and heighten the stark contest between the hero and the villatiness Ortrud. And the singers, especially Goista Winbergh in the title role, are first rate. Blessed with a sizable lyric tenor. Winbergh sing belonging in the property sings.



bergh sings Lohengrin's famous farewell softly—as it is almost never done—and makes it heartbreaking.

— M.D.

CINEMA

Seduction on Canvas

He strips and contorts her, plies her, wows her, drives her to better dom, exaperation, tears. He is, in list week's fourtier phrase, her mentor and tormentor. What the aging artist Frenholer (Michel Peccol) does to his young model. Marianne (Emmanuelle Beart), as whe poses for his first painting in years, is a disinterested kind of seculif harmonier to rat's which these stitings, as echiention on cansually an experimental to the second properties of the second seculification of the second properties of the second properties of sease. The phrase is loosely translated as "the beautiful nat case;" sease. The phrase is loosely translated as "the beautiful nat case;" sease. The phrase is loosely translated as "the beautiful nat case; a sease. The phrase is loosely translated as "the beautiful nat case," sease. The phrase is loosely translated as "the beautiful nat case," printed futual of man appraising, adongs, subligating and re-creating sourna. This glamorious film, which won second prize at this as a commentary on the

creation of anybody's art: hard work that is its own rehard work that is its own reward. Its mind is Rivette's, but its soul is in Béart—gorgeous, quietly fiery, supple yet stubborn, yielding only surface secrets to the voycur-artist in every gentleman. They may be all he wants.—R.C.



INEMA

Speak Up, We Can't Hear You

Gus Van Sarti saltives characters who are literally two sensitive for words. This recommends his work to the serious synanger audience, which tends to mime its discontents by streking sullen proses. But it is not a swelft altribute for a mixed revolved proses. But it is not at a swelft altribute for a mixed ever of sound movies. Neither is van damenter and the summarized the summarized the summarized the part sound movies. Neither is Van Sant's diskain for narrative. He gut uses with Druggstone Come physical summarized to a construction of the summarized the summarized that almost passed for a plot. But Mr One Presult ladio is a different story. Or rather nonstory, in which a papir of homosexual busslers (River Phoenis und Kennu Receves) search incon-classively for the menting of their lives. What plot it has borrowed,



improbably, from Henr, W. and whenever anyone manages to speak an entire paragraph, it is usually a Shakespeareain paraphrase. But this is a desperate imposition on an essentially inter film. There's more drama, and comedy, in the reviews of critics who committed themselves to Van Sant's anti-Establishment genius after Combor and are trying to justify their enthusiasm now. Talk about desperation! — R. S.

Wallowing in the Mass Media Sea

Brash and accessible, the Pop style revolutionized the art world, for better or worse—but what was its lasting value? A big London show suggests some answers.

By ROBERT HUGHES

ow you feel about Pop art depends. to some extent, on how old you are. Nobody who was born around 1940 and came of age as a "consumer of images" in the 1960s is likely to react to the big Pop art survey now at the Royal Academy of Arts in London (through Dec. 15) in the same way as someone born after 1960. The oldie remembers the exuberant optimism of art's embrace of the mass media that lay at the core of Pop: superficial, maybe, but promising a fresh world of demotic feeling. The younger visitor, whose baby sitter was a TV set, is more likely to wonder what the fuss was about. Haven't we always been denizens of the electronic empire-fixated but skeptical, knowing how it cons us, yet unable to jump clear of the game of image manipulation'

Where did the Areadian side of Pop go? Down the memory hole, into the unrecoverable past, along with the America it represented. The crass, brash commercial imagery that the Pop artists seized on is still there, looming even larger than it did 30 years ago, but it no longer offers art the same possibilities. The optimism of '60s Pop makes it look more romantic than it used to. Having been propaganda for its own culture, some of it has turned into history painting of a quite poignant sort. Robert Rauschenberg's Retroactive II, 1964, with its spaceman and its young, glamorous, dead J.F.K., might well be the last affectionate tribute to a political figure produced by a major American artist-you can't imagine an intelligent person feeling the same hero worship for Kennedy today. let alone for Reagan or Bush. Much of one's re-encounter with Pop is colored by the pathos of lost illusions.

Pop art, as Andy Warhol said, was "about liking things." Around 1960-actually a few years before that, if you date it from the early combine-paintings of Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns' flags and targets and, earlier in the '50s still, the work of Larry Rivers-a number of young artists emerged in New York City. Paris and London who had little in common beyond their curiosity about the largely disparaged sea of mass media and commercial persuasion: ads, billboards, newsprint, TV montage and all kinds of kitsch. In the '20s Dadaists and Surrealists had been fascinated by this too, but Pop art dived into it with a kind of wallowing abandon.

The show firmly reminds us that al-

though America was where the culture of Pop art triumphed. London was actually where the term originated. Its very first visual use was in a 1956 college by the British artist Richard Hamilton. Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing", in which a body-builder thero is holding an enormous phallic sucker labeled rop: and a blown-up frame from a romance comic—a prediction of the as yet undone work of Roy Lichtenstein—hangs on the wall. Nor, just for the record, was fils the only time the Brits were ahead of the Yanks. The chrome-plated whiskey bottless

ROY LICHTENSTEIN

Pop art quickly fed back into popular culture because it was so easily reproducible. Farty Lichtensteins like this-an In joke by a then little-known painter about art-world successhave since been rendered all the more ironic by their rise into the million-dollar price field.



MASTERPHETE 1962

CLAES OLDENBURG The gross, globby look of this work's papier-mache and enamel house paint, now three decades

paint, now three decades old, has lost none of its vitality: it can still make cuts of supermarket meat look like the site of a massacre.



PLATE OF MEAT 1961

and other bibelots that New York's Jeff Koons was doing a few years ago were, as they politely say, "anticipated" in 1966 in a chrome-plated steel cast of a peasant chair by London's Clive Barker.

Pop art was the first accessible style of international Modernism; it dissolved the tensions that had existed, in Europe as in America, between awart-garde art and the general public. Consequently it set in motion enormous changes in the art market and in public attitudes toward the new. It was art about consumption, and it sat up and begged to be consumption, and it sat up and begged to be consumed. It also formation of manifold the consumption and it sat up and begged to be consumed. It also formation of public articulture—portly because it was so easily, and at times misleadingly, reproducible. (An early Lichtenstein like

Masterpiece, 1962, inflates with complications when liberated from a comic-strip frame; reproduced in print, it collapses back into one again.)

This meant that Pop could flood the culture, especially in America, with an ease that Abstract Expressionism could not possibly rival. The collectors, to quote the properties of the collectors of the collectors

IAMES

lasted best

The startling juxtapositions in

this Surrealist

by Rosenquist to hillboard size.

a lost America.

where cars

had fine and

people still read the Saturday

Evening Post.

powerfully evoke

reverie, magnified

ROSENOUIST

The Pop that has

has metaphor and a certain mystery.

of the world as body—hard things drooping into softness, small things turning mountainous, a vision that seems to reach back to füruged and can make a crude enmeat look like the site of a massacre. With Rosenquist, it is the crude oppositions, engrossing in their pure Americanness. The symmatis face rising out of an orange swamp of spaghetts in I Love Tou with All mings sof that vanished world in which cars had fins and people read the Saturday Exening Post.

Some artists don't seem to belong in the show at all, or only do so by force of custom. It's a toss-up whether you want to see George Segal's once white, now gray, plaster-cast figures in relation to mass culture; today they seem even more attached to solitude and individual grittiness than they did in the '60s, sculptural materializations of the urban mood of Hopper. You could make some kind of case for that excellent California painter Wayne Thiebaud as a Pop artist because he painted hot dogs and angel-food cakes; but artists have always put the food of their time in their still lifes, whether a jamón serrano by Velázquez or a baguette by Manet, and with Thiebaud the formal qualities of the paint now seem far more engaging than its reference to serial production.

Does Pop still live? Marco Livingstone, who organized the show, believes so. "Pop has lasted," he writes in the catalog, "because of its radical redefinition of the attributes of the work of art . . . In assaulting conventions of taste by subjecting their own sensibility to that of their sources, [Pop artists] have in turn modified our own perceptions and created an indelible record of the spirit of our time." It's hard to believe that anyone in 1991 could still speak of "assaulting conventions of taste," since Pop's media-fixated gaze has actually become the main convention of taste in the aesthetic debris left in the '80s' wake. The galleries of Europe and America are stuffed with inert, overconceptualized boilerplate, from Koons to Haim Steinbach, that gets praised for its "criticality" but, as a footnote exhibition at London's Serpentine Gallery shows, is complacent and dull beyond belief. It "addresses" mass media and mass taste, but with a mincing snootiness unknown to Pop in the '60s.

The original Popters may not have the original Popters may not have the original Popters may not have the original Popters and Pousing on the popter of the popters and Pousing midgets. And if the graft of Conceptualism onto Pop has produced so little, it is only because the landscape of mass media presents no challenges to the artist; it is sterile now and incapable of a fresh thought or an authentic feeling. Better real ads and comies than exhausted "fine" art about them. That is one reason why our fine-de-sided, at least in the domain of the visual arts, it is turning into such a cultural fisaco.



LOVE YOU WITH MY FORD, 1961

ROBERT RAUSCHENBERG

Some Pop has turned into poignant history painting: the image of J.F.K.— young, glamorous and dead—may be the last affectionate tribute to a politician produced by an important U.S. artist.

alienation without wanting to laugh out loud.

Is it an accident that the aspects of Pop that seem to have lasted best are the very characteristics of a work of art that Pop was supposed to have expelled—namely, metaphor and a certain mystery? Hardly, and this only underscores the danger persons in the properties of treating Pop art as though it were a homegeneous movement. Mel Ramos wasen cutie learning on a tire looks borting today, and the footnotes to Duchama paun out by Plausa group seem inert when they are not merely silly.

But on the other hand, the early work of James Rosenquist and Claes Oldenburg has lost none of its power. With Oldenburg the vitality comes from his wild metaphors



KETROACTIVE II, 196-

Essay

Lance Morrow

Truths in The Ruins

merica is still too young to have convincing ruins. Instead A merica is still too young to have continued and admiring the tumbled stones of their former civilizations, Americans can only return to their memorable fiascoes, where they can weep and think of Ozymandias, king of kings. They can revisit Watergate and Vietnam, for example, or penetrate to the remoter pageants of McCarthvism or the stockmarket crash of 1929. Poking around in the remnants of disaster can tell you where you have been and what you have been capable of

Americans in the future may enjoy replaying the fiasco of the Thomas confirmation hearings: primal, defining national theater. The drama had layers-legal, political, cultural, racial, ethical, sexual. The hearings were a bad moment for middle-aged white men. The Senate Judiciary Committee sat arrayed in its Caucasian glory, like Muppets of Bomfog and Claghorn, each Senator more confused and senescent and miserable and lost to pomposity than the last-a row of flushed egos that said goodbye to dignity and intelligence sometime during the Eisenhower years

But in this drama the elected Senators did not represent America. Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill did. The soap opera that brought them together was as sleazy, corrupt and stupid as much of the nation's life has become. But the business touched deep matters. It was about man and woman, about sex and power, about ambition and desire. The hearings, almost a new art form, commingled private tragedy, public farce, office mini-series, and ideological bonfire.

The most terrible of the American ruins is slavery, folly of follies. It has left its living cinders all over the geographical and moral landscape: in the South Bronx and South Side Chicago. in bigoted hearts and in the despairs and self-contempt of those left in the ruins.

The importance of the Thomas hearings may have been more in the area of race than that of sex. The issue of sexual harassment came to no resolution there, so the aftermath on that score remains full of glaring anger. But the Thomas proceedings had an unexpected cleansing power where race is concerned. The antagonists were black. The

ities, decencies. The leading players in the Thomas drama, and many in the supporting cast, were accomplished, gifted, attractive, ambitious, complicated Americans-and in this case, incidentally, African Americans. The hearings called forth a procession of people diverse and successful in ways not normally visible to white America.

No stereotypes this time. No Cosby, Oprah, Willie Horton, Michael Jackson, Michael Jordan, Jesse Jackson. The black nominee was a conservative, not a predictable character with a predictable party line. What's this? Blacks are different from one another? Think different thoughts? Men and women, of whatever race, could not begin to search for the truth in the

case without looking into themselves.

Mystery hates the relentless predictabilities of dogma. It was a mystery that was on display before the Senate Judiciary Committee. That part of the truth was available to anyone whose mind was not lost in dense preconceptions. Politics and ideology have their organizational uses but are in general the enemies of deeper human truth. According to the polls, Americans around the country did not subscribe to the ideological conclusion to which so many in the women's movement leaped-the appalling syllogism that: 1) sexual harassment is horrible and widespread (it has happened to me and to many I know); 2) Anita Hill (and only Hill, but that's enough because that's the way harassment happens) says he did it; therefore 3) Clarence Thomas is guilty as charged (without trial), should be kept off the Supreme Court, and bears the monstrous guilt of all men everywhere, so now that he is on the court all his future decisions, including any possible opinions on Roe v. Wade, are illegitimate, the product of his sick mind. And by extension, all future decisions of this conservative Supreme Court affecting women are contaminated by what Anita Hill claims to have happened years ago between a man and a woman in an office-words about pubic hair on a Coke can and about a porn star with a large member. Ideology bludgeons the novelistic truth of character into its own preconceptions.

Something is missing here, something we will never know. But frothing ideology will not tell us: if Clarence Thomas is a conservative, that does not make him a sexual harasser. What he may or may not decide about Roe v. Wade has no bearing upon what Anita Hill claims about his conduct. Sometimes men sexually harass vulnerable women. Women may have predatory agendas too. Not all women are innocent, vulnerable victims. And sometimes men are monsters. Reality is rich and impish and asymmetrical. It laughs at manifestos.

After Clarence Thomas finished the first round of confirmation hearings. I would have voted against him on the grounds that he simply did not know enough-too strange and green, I thought, too many vectors in his character firing off in different directions. I could see a black nationalist inside him

fighting it out with a Reaganite. But last week I would have taken a chance and voted in his favor. His life is beginning now. It belongs entirely to him. I surmise, for the first time. He will not be the Justice that ideologues of either side have predicted. He will surprise them all.



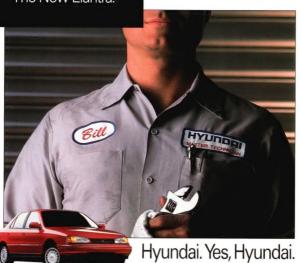
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